MIAN FAZL-I-HUSAIN

GLIMPSES OF LIFE AND WORKS
1898 - 1936

Edited by
Azim Husain

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SANG-E-MEEL PUBLICATIONS

25-Shahrah-e-Pakistan (Lower Mall), Lahore - Pakistan.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

Mian Fazl-i-Husain was a major political figure to begin with in the Punjab and later in all India during two decades from 1915 to his demise in 1936. As a person with a keen sense of the value of personal records, he left behind a considerable body of his correspondence, diaries, articles, speeches, and other memoranda. From this Collection the Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, published in 1976 "Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain", edited by Dr. Waheed Ahmad, with a preface by Dr. Percival Spear, and in 1977 "Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Husain", edited by Dr. Waheed Ahmad. Unfortunately due to insufficient supervision, some important documents were omitted from the 1977 publication. For example, of the diary for the period 1898-1902 consisting of 122 pages, the first two pages were included and the remaining 120 omitted. There was also other material which was omitted and which needed to be published to make available to the present and future historians all accessible documentation which would enable them to make an accurate and definitive assessment of the life and work of Fazl-i-Husain and his times. This was recognized by the Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, but again, unfortunately, the manuscript of the third volume, despite an understanding towards its publication, remained with the Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, for almost a decade without being published, and finally was said to have been lost. In view of the fact that during the last fifteen years the two volumes, mentioned above, received wide circulation, and

their contents were most frequently referred to in the historical research and analytical studies of the period of the history of the Indian sub-continent covered by them, it was felt that the publication of the third volume consisting of the most significant outstanding available documents should not be delayed any further.

While the first two volumes relate principally to his work and personality as an Indian nationalist and as a Muslim leader, during 1930-35, this volume covers also the earlier period 1898-1930 reflecting his ideas, and his aspirations and his work as a Punjabi leader. This volume includes, to begin with, in Section (1) the diary (1898-1902) which gives a graphic account of Fazl-i-Husain as a young man studying abroad, and sensitively observing contemporary life and events in Britain. It also reveals his personality, ideals and aspirations, the texture of his mind, his relationship with other human beings, his nascent qualities of leadership, and his social, economic and political thinking at the formative stage of his life. It ends with his first year as a legal practitioner in Sialkot trying to earn a livelihood in a difficult environment including communal antagonism, of which, he had a foretaste as student in Cambridge.

Section (2) contains two articles on Urdu literary criticism published in 1902 in "Makhzan" the well known Urdu literary journal of the time edited by Sheikh (later Sir) Abdul Qadir. These articles show his interest in Urdu language, for the use of which he pleaded during his later political career.

The next stage of his life was when in 1905 he shifted to Lahore as a practising barrister, and was soon involved in the educational and political life of his province, the Punjab. On his election to the Punjab Legislative Council in 1916 he became a discerning critic of Government as will be seen in Section (3) from the texts of his speeches in the Punjab Legislative Council, demanding the extension and

improvement of the teaching and study of vernaculars, expansion of primary education, and improvement of the conditions of primary and lower primary schools. He also asked for the improvement in the position of the teachers of classical languages in the Anglo Vernacular High Schools. With regard to political matters he asked for the use of Urdu in the Punjab Legislative Council so that representation in the Punjab Legislative Council should be popularly based and not restricted to only those knowing English language. He also demanded that Punjabi Muslim representation on the Indian Legislative Council should be by election instead of nomination. In defence of human rights he opposed the repressive measures of the Punjab government and asked for the supremacy of the rule of law and the elimination of arbitrariness in criminal administration. In regard to the forthcoming constitutional reforms he demanded that the Punjab be placed on the same footing and treated in the same manner as the three Presidencies with more extensive elected instead of nominated representation and more varied and greater devolution of authority to elected representatives. He, in particular, stressed the necessity for the representation of Muslims in the Punjab Legislative Council as laid down in the Congress - Muslim League Agreement of 1916. The article given at the end of Section (3) gives his rationale for the participation by the Muslim minority in India in the constitutional framework of the Montague Chelmsford Reforms.

On his becoming in 1921 in the Punjab Minister of Education, Health and Local Self-government, under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms, he felt himself called upon to do what he, as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council, was asking the government to do during the previous five years. The texts of his speeches in the Punjab Legislative Council, reproduced in Section (4) disclose the steps he took as Minister of Education for the expansion of primary education in rural areas, and the development of secondary and university education. This raised the ques-

tion of communal representation in educational institutions. As Minister in charge he prescribed, within the framework of Congress — Muslim League Pact of 1916, percentages for Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, giving Muslims a degree of representation they never had before in the Punjab or in any other province in India. This made Fazl-i-Husain in the Punjab and throughout India one of the most controversial provincial Ministers under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms. His speeches in the defence of his policies on communal representation in educational institutions and in local self-government, and on the subject of abolition of communal electorate and creation of joint electorate, given in this section, are most illuminating, demonstrating a fundamental change in the political climate not only in the Punjab but throughout India for which he was reponsible. These speeches need to be read with his resolutions, reproduced in this section, paying a tribute to Montague for "helping India to achieve self-government, in securing for her an honourable position in the comity of nations and to the cause of Islam". The other significant measure was the introduction in the Punjab of statutory elected panchayats to strengthen the village community as a unit of political life in the country. This was conceived by Fazl-i-Husain as a training ground for a full fledged democratic process expected to be introduced in the country before long. The speeches in this section relate to the passage of the Punjab Village Panchayat Bill, 1921.

In 1930 Fazl-i-Husain became a Member of the Viceroys Executive Council as a member for Education, Health and Lands. In Section (5) are given the speeches he delivered during 1930-35 as a member of the Legislative Assembly and as the Leader of the House in the Council of State. For the relief of agriculturists he dealt with the control of money lending and rates of interest; and the price of agricultural commodities during the world wide economic depression and financial collapse of the early

thirtees, and the taxation of agricultural income. As a Muslim member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy his portfolio included the provision of facilities for the performance of Haj about which there was considerable dissatisfaction in the Muslim community. The speeches delivered during 1932-33 dealing with legislation relevant to the performance of Haj show the extent to which the existing facilities were improved.

His portfolio also included matters relating to Indians overseas, not only in the Union of South Africa, but also elsewhere. The speeches delivered during 1932-35 in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly show the extent within the limitations of British imperial policies to which the condition of Indians overseas could be ameliorated. Though not directly responsible but as Leader of the House in the Council of State, as will be seen from his speeches given in this section, he dealt with the question of Indian representation to imperial and international conferences.

The major issue, however, during his tenure, as a member of the Viceroys Executive Council, was constitutional reforms leading to the government of India Act, 1935. It began with the announcement in 1930 by the British government of consultations through Round Table Conference, and its rejection by the Congress followed by riots and civil disobedience campaign. This involved a policy of repression which came to be discussed in the Legislative Assembly. The speeches made in 1931 by Fazl-i-Husain on this occasion reflect, not only his opposition to the policy of repression and rule by ordinance, but also his thinking about the current stage of constitutional deveiopments. The validity of his analysis can be judged from the fact that shortly thereafter came the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, and the participation by Gandhi in the 1931 Round Table Conference. The virtual total direction by Fazl-i-Husain of Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conferences from

1930-33, and the achievement of the Communal Award 1932, incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935 are amply documented in the earlier two volumes mentioned above. The next stage after the conclusion of the Round Table Conferences was that of Indian representation to the Joint Select Committee, for which, while not having any authority to make commitments, he undertook to do his best. Finally, came the Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which roused much critical comment in the Council of State. His approach being constitutional and realistic, the main burden of the speeches delivered by him on this occasion was that what cannot be changed, should be accepted and worked to the best advantage possible. Indeed, finally even the Indian National Congress accepted the dispensation of the Government of India Act 1935 and participated in the election and accepted responsibility in the provinces in 1937.

The concluding part of Section (5) contains an eulogy on the death of Sir Sankaran Nair. This has been included not to commemorate the achievements of Sir Sankaran Nair, but for the annunciation of the principles which Fazl-i-Husain believed should govern public life. A study of his life shows that he observed these principles himself throughout his political career. Like Nair he was also a member of the Congress Party and resigned in 1919-20 in protest against the policy of non-cooperation. This section ends with validictory speeches made in 1935 in the Council of State on his retirement as Leader of the House and as a Member of the Viceroys Executive Council. The speeches made by Muslims, Hindus, Parsees and British members of different political parties and persuasions evaluate his role and his achievements in the Government of India during the previous five years. And the last speech is by himself summing up what he had endeavoured to do, and achieved or failed to achieve.

On his return to the Punjab in 1935, he became once again Minister in the provincial government and resumed his direction of the political affairs of his province. As a constitutionalist he was determined to make the best use of the powers delegated to the provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935. In preparation for the provincial elections under the new dispensation, he put forward in 1936 concrete proposals for the reorganisation of the Punjab Unionist Party in the form of the manifesto, "Punjab Politics", the full text of which has been reproduced in Section (6). This manifesto contains a practical programme for the working of the reforms in the Punjab. It is based on his personal involvement over the three previous decades in the political affairs of the Punjab in particular and of India as a whole. He was convinced that in the Punjab, Muslims, because of their marginal majority, could not work the Reforms successfully, without the substantial support of the minorities. From this, for him, it followed that the communal problem could only be solved provincially according to the peculiar circumstances of each province, and the issue must not be confused by attempting to evolve a common formula for most diverse conditions of Muslim majority and minority provinces, in the sub-continent of India.

Since Fazl-i-Husain died within six months of the issue of his party manifesto, it could be regarded as his final political testament. It must, however, be seen in the context of how it was conceived on the eve of provincial elections in 1936. It was conceived as the only practical course to adopt when under the Government of India Act 1935, only provincial autonomy was being implemented and the federal part of the constitution was no where in sight. This dispensation must also be seen in the contemporary estimate of the constraints imposed by the prevailing British power and authority in India, and of the degree of its permanance. Fazl-i-Husain estimated the

continuation of British rule in India well beyond another decade. Speaking in the Council of State on the 14th February, 1935 about the objections raised to the acceptance of the reforms offered in the Government of India Bill, 1935, he said: "We have had enough of controversy for 16 years. Let us have a truce for ten years and work this thing for whatever it is worth, good, bad or indifferent, and then let it be up to those who are then at the helm of affairs to review the position and see what form of agitation, struggle for political advancement of India, should take". In this context it must be emphasised that the political game could only be and was going to be played within by the rules set by the then British authority in India. The idea of partition had been mentioned by individuals here and there, since 1933, but Fazl-i-Husain, as a realist, seeing in 1935-36 the British in firm control of India and there being no sign of any change in the foreseable future, could not entertain such thoughts as having, at the time, any practical significance. Similarly, he had strong reservations against having in the prevailing circumstances a uniform policy for Muslims in Muslim minority and Muslim majority provinces. Since the new dispensation gave provincial autonomy without any provision for a federal government, and the central government remained more or less as it was since 1920, Fazl-i-Husain wanted to work within the framework of provincial autonomy, and to so develop the power and authority in Muslim majority provinces, that in any future political advance, they could stand on their own, and successfully resist any encroachment on their autonomy by any central Indian Government dominated by the majority community. These views were shared, at that time, by those in other Muslim majority provinces, such as the United Agriculturist Party and the Krishak Praja Samity of Bengal, the United Muslim Party of Sindh, and the various parties in the N.W.F.P.

In this connection it has been said that Fazl-i-Husain did not anticipate how quickly the British were to leave

and did not seem to have realized that the final phase of the struggle - "the war of succession" - was about to begin. This is hindsight, and ignores the contemporary realities of 1936. The bitter struggle which later ensued between the Congress and the League should not abscure the fact that till the middle of 1937, the position was quite different. In 1937, the year after his death, when under the Government of India Act, 1935, elected provincial government came into being, the political scene and the rules of the game, began to change drastically, especially in the Muslim minority provinces. Even during the brief period of 1937-39 All India Congress rule in certain provinces changed in the new democratic set up the entire political spectrum for the future of the Muslims in Muslim Minority provinces. The rules of the game changed even more radically with the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The Congress opposition to the war effort, and the need of the British authority in the India to maintain throughout India a considerable degree of stability to maximise the war effort, led the British to strengthen and to maintain against the Congress and other nationalist forces a counterpoise in the favour of the Muslim minority, both in the Muslim majority and minority provinces. The world wide collapse of British power during 1939-45 brought about also the end of British authority in India, and that raised issues inconceivable in 1935-36 both at the provincial and at the all India level.

The life and work of Fazl-i-Husain must be judged in the context of the period in which he lived and was politically active 1905-1936. What often happens with many controversial political personalities, and Fazl-i-Husain was certainly one of them, is that they are judged according to criteria, objectives, ideals of different times, circumstances and places. This is juvenile and a sign of immaturity. Fazl-i-Husain cannot be related to the events or the conduct of the leaders of the Unionist Party in the decade following

his death 1936-46.

The purpose of this introduction is not to make an assessment of the life and work of Fazl-i-Husain. The purpose of this volume is to make available, in conjunction with the earlier two volumes of his papers mentioned above, enough of what he did, what he said and what he wrote, in his own words throughout his political career, to enable the general reader, and the present and future historians to make an informed and correct assessment of his contribution to the advancement of his province, the Punjab, and the cause of the Muslims of India as a part of the Indian nation as a whole. This introduction may be concluded by saying that most of the factual details of Fazl-i-Husain's life are given in the bio-graphy written by me as mentioned at the end of this volume in the bibliography of books and other writings about Fazl-i-Husain.

London Azim Husain

March 1993

Section 1

DIARY 1898-1902

PREFACE

I begin this diary on the eve of my departure to England. I hope to put in to it all that strikes me as curious and strange. I will try to give descriptive sketches of the several cities and ports, which I will have an occasion to see. Moreover, I will try my hands at characterisation of individual and national portraits. No doubt, my descriptions will, as a matter of course, be meagre; and my characterisation wanting in brevity; but after all, everything will be underlined by a true and sound scientific observation. Prejudice in no case will be let in.

As the flitting memory is not the reliable treasure of such a valuable jewellery, I think it all the more necessary to reduce it to the letters of alphabet, and to put them in the iron safe of pen-ink and paper.

May God help me in keeping this diary regularly and carefully! God the Almighty be praised.

Fazl i Husain (B.A.)
of Batala Sheriff
District Gurdaspur,
Province Punjab,
India.

Dated: 23 August 1898

P.S: I will begin this diary from the 28th of August 1898, which is my last day at Dera Ghazi Khan. A brief sketch of my circumstances before my departure, seems to me advisable, and so I will write it under 'A View of Before Departure'.

F. Husain

"A VIEW OF 'BEFORE DEPARTURE'"

Ever since I was put under the yoke of study it was my father's heart-felt desire that I should prepare myself for the I.C.S. competitive exam. But then the constant ill-health which always claimed me for her own and scanty means never allowed him to think upon this proposal seriously. It had been my ambition too, but I never thought of it in a business like way. This accounts for the poor preparation which I have made for the exam. However, now I am going so far of, and I am told, in a country where purity is a scarcity, I have formulated certain principles for my own guidance. I need not put them to words, for being constantly in mind, I need not be afraid of their slipping away. During my first year, I am to avoid popularity on principle. My college experience has brought home to me the fact of the great cost of popularity, the most precious of which is the loss of time. I must work as a carthorse, 'Patience and Perseverance' must be my motto. The abundance of hard work will no doubt try to discourage me. But I must work and work with all my heart. I should not allow my childlike longing for home to prevail upon me. All that is dear and near to me should be deposited in the sunniest corner of my heart, but this depository should hold no communication whatsoever with my head, it should be left clear to work for the examination.

The members of my family, they will in time forget to think too much of me. How they drag on themselves, I must not think of. (F. Husain)

Dera Ghazi Khan
28th August 1898, Sunday.

Dera Ghazi Khan is a well-known city, and of good historical significance. It is situated on the bank of the Indus, but now the ferocious river is encroaching upon the premises of this dirty city. Thousands nay lakhs are spent upon counteracting the movements of this river. But all this has served only to delay the foreseen calamity. Now the city is simply a dung-hill. Everywhere pools of noxious water are to be met with; and their smell is poisonous to the brain. Several houses have tumbled down, while others promise to follow. This has made the city quite gloomy.

You could not have access to the city but for the steamer. It is very troublesome to cross the river these days, it foams and frets, and when in fury it denies allegiance even to the sturdiest rover. The Indus flows quite dirty here, but at Attock its water looks as if aerated, and flows very swift and very loud.

The inhabitants of this district are of two kinds — Baloochees and non-Beloochees. The former are men of some fibre and of certain principles which they will better die than violate. For instance, no Beloochee will ever eat fish. I have tried to get an explanation for it, but my efforts were always repulsed. They are brave, courageous, even cruel. To a certain extent they are hospitable. But then their chief and favourite occupation is robbery, which is not held in a very great ill-esteem.

The non-Beloochees, they are men of no principles, they are mean, and would do anything to save their life and wealth. They are detestable creatures, always flattering their superiors and injuring their inferiors. The Kalal[1] is a by-word for every act of meanness.

This portion of Beloochistan was secured by the British Government through the agency of Mr. Sandeman[2] who in his turn employed two men — Nawab of Hoti and

Nawab of Rujhan. They conspired against their own countrymen, and earned success for the British rulers. It is well known that this country was surrendered without spilling any blood. This is a reflection on the character of this people.

F. Husain

29th August 1898, Monday.

Last day there was a big gathering of the wives of the officemen and in the evening their husbands were invited by my father to dine with them. I had had headache and some slight fever. This morning I woke giddy. However, I had to make myself ready for departure.

We parted. I left my house and I had again and again to force back the big tears which more than a hundred times tried to force their way out. It is flattering to say that I parted without wetting my cheeks. But who knows that my heart wept blood tears when I left my sister and father.[3] My father and many other gentlemen came to the river bank and we took the boat there. I had succeeded in crushing in my tears, but my heart fluttered and the world about me seemed to be in a constant up and down movement. When I shook hands with my father I was about to cry, but through some higher power I was saved from this misery.

The boat took a fair start. The wind was rather fierce and the river rather loud and ferocious. The boat rocked and many a time it appeared the waves would get in, but the sides of the boat turned them away. After a good deal of anxiety the river was crossed.

By the way, we had a good sight of vanity, pride and suffering. Some four native infantry men quarrelled with gariwalas and threatened them, nay, even struck a blow.

This roused the anger of the poor gariwalas and they fell upon the sepoys and thrashed them. It was a petty fray and ended to the disadvantage of the sepoys.

We got our tickets from Ghazi Ghat and asked Maula Baksh to return to Dera.

Reached Sher Shah without anything startling. There we had to wait for 12 hours. We went direct to the Waiting Room and there somehow or other passed the time. Close by the side of the station is a pool and we were told that it is a storehouse of fish. Sher Shah is neither a town nor a village, it is simply a Railway Station. We kept Ghulam Mohiyud Din with us. The poor fellow lost 24 hours for our sake. But I did not mean that. I thought it will cost him only 12 hours of that with us.

30th August 1898, Tuesday.

The mail train arrived at Sher Shah in due time. But then the second class was full to bursting. We had to ask the guard to allow us to stay in the Ladies' compartment. Thus we managed to take good rest till 8 in the morning. But the fact is that the Railway management still leaves a big margin for further improvement. Sometimes one compartment is not sufficient, and its passengers are brought to unnecessary and undeserved trouble. Refreshment rooms of the railway, well, they are simply holes of robbers in disguise. They cheat you. Their charges are not only high, but they charge you for nothing.

By the way, to note something of our chums. There was an English boy, a student of the Lucknow European College. He was an under-graduate coming to Karachi on vacation He was simply naughty and mischievous. He will disturb anybody and do any mischief especially when he is not doing something. It seems to me that he was let loose from the iron clutches of the college authorities and here he was free to indulge in his mischievous freaks. Many sharp jokes were cut at him, nay, even practical jokes were

brought into action to prohibit him. At first he seemed proof to all this. But in the long run, he had to surrender, and the passengers went to sleep. In the moonlight, the journey was very pleasant. The scenery was enticing, and the breeze was cool and pleasant. The same thing continued till morning and the season seemed to be rather cool after the last day's sunshine. It rained just like dew. We reached Maler where lately a quarantine was made. The quarantine seemed to be quite wretched. Anybody would become ill in such bad lodgings.

31st August 1898, Wednesday

At 8 in the morning, the mail train brought us to Karachi and without much difficulty we found out our way to the North Western Hotel. A barber was ordered and instantly a room was furnished (though scantily) for us. After a luxurious shave, and enjoying a bath, we dressed ourselves in the purely English style. I can't say whether the suit suited me or not but it did not look very clumsy. Then came the trying moment. We went to the Table D' Hote. Almost all the circumstances favoured us. There were only two more gentlemen, and the dishes were placed first before them. We went on pretty well and we did not afterwards find it very difficult to dine at Table D' Hote.

Then we drove to Mackenzie & Co. for changing the orders of King, King & Co. of Bombay into tickets and then we shopped for a while till 1 pm.

I sat down to write my letters. But I was rather unwell, so I scribbled them out hastily. My head was aching and had constipation. I hardly touched more than two dishes at the dinner table. Some day when I am better, I will turn out some lines on the English dress and the English food. At the present I am not quite well to strain my brain.

Karachi — It is a big town, bigger than any of the Punjab and more fashionable too. The buildings are grand

and stately, generally made of stone in two or three stories. The roads are broad, shops well furnished and bazars wide and clean.

It seems to me that the people of this town have taken to commerce and that is the right thing for the Indians. They seem to be wealthy and generally belong to the well to do class. The city wears the air of desolation and ruins which is the natural consequence of these devilish plagues. Amidst the grandeur of the buildings it strikes to the observer that these are deserted or perhaps houses of enchantment where no human foot is allowed to tread.

The weather is extremely pleasant. A cool breeze from the sea side is constantly in action, so much so that obviates the necessity of pankhas.

I haven't come across the natives, so I cannot touch upon the national character of the people.

I had an interesting dialogue with the Khansama which ensued on our arrival at the North Western Hotel.

Ist September 1898, Thursday.

After passing a desultory morning and paying our hotel bill we drove on to Kiamari in order to ship in S.S. Dumbra which we did in an hour or so. There a certain 'pass' was challenged, failing which the policeman told us, we could not go by this steamer. A fellow of a doctor came and repeated the same tale. But then the real doctor, a man of some position came and after making due enquiries allowed us to proceed. In the bearing of these two medical officials of different positions was remarkably explained the difference between the genteel and the low-bred.

For an hour or so, we remained on the deck. The scenery was very pleasant. But then our heads grew dizzy and we left the deck for our cabin to vomit — in short we were sick.

2nd September 1898, Friday.

There was a certain native medical attendant on the steamer. He was a very good man and mixed with us freely, talked and gave us good advice. He was of the opinion that sea-sickness (vomiting) is due to the giddiness of the head. Its only remedy was lemon juice. But I think that sea sickness consists in the giddiness and in want of proper work of the entrails. So the remedy lies in such purgative things which open the bowels; but it must be some powder otherwise it will be vomited. Then some such things should be administered which keep us strong and are of good and pleasant flavour. The use of pickles and fruit and lemonade is of very good service.

3rd September 1898, Saturday.

At 9 in the morning we were at Bombay and there the Captain of the steamer told me that by the New Port Regulations, if you touch the land, you can't go by this mail steamer, so I was obliged to proceed directly to S.S. Clyde where I was allowed to land to transact my business. After transacting my business at Bombay, I came to Ballad pier whence a steam-launch took me, together with the rest of the passengers, to S.S. Clyde where we found that the berths secured by our agents (King, King & Co.) were not desirable and only after a lot of trouble we got a change sanctioned by the payment of Rs. 18 each. Muhammad Said[4], Abdur Rahim[5] and myself were in the same cabin. All of us were sea-sick.

4th September 1898, Sunday.

We continued sick. Our only diet was some fruits, a bottle of lemonade and rice. We could not walk, nay, even could not sit. In short we were rather growing weary of our voyage, eating nothing and doing nothing. We knew not what will we come to.

5th September 1898, Monday.

Mohammad Said lost his heart — got weary of his new enterprise; his courage gave way. Thinking that he

won't be able to get through the C.S. Exam or the Degree exam and that mere Barristership meant hunger, he had decided to return to Pindi from Aden. He was plotting to get a medical certificate of sickness which will help to secure the passage fare and to return from Aden. However Abdur Rahim pursuaded him to give up his intention and encouraged him to work, the only thing which he thought was necessary for securing success.

6-8th September 1898, Tuesday-Thursday.

We all remained sick, unable to walk, nay, even incapable of sitting. On Thursday, however, the sea got calm. The previous days were monsoon days. So we mustered some strength and went on the deck. In the evening some lighthouses were visible. We all slept on the deck.

9th September 1898, Friday.

We reached Aden and by a steam launch were taken to S.S. Australia which is almost double the size of S.S. Clyde. Our steward of Clyde was a European, being a very active man. During our sickness, he took good care of us. This steamer is a better one. It does not move like a camel as Clyde did, but its motions resemble to that of the railway train. We are much better today — we can walk and eat a little too, and that is a good deal.

10th September 1898, Saturday.

Last night we had slept on the deck. I rose early, went to my cabin, shaved myself clean, went to bath, changed my shirt, took a couple of books and came to the deck. I read a bit, played a game of chess, attended the table and was pretty healthy.

Some European chap cut a joke upon Abdur Rahim remarking that his shirt was flowing outside of his skirt. These men look down upon the natives. There is no doubt that it is to some extent due to the carelessness and negli-

gence of the native gentlemen. But I think the other party is not quite blameless.

After attending the table at evening, almost all the passengers came to the deck. The European chaps were very jolly. They played at the piano, sang songs and asked us to join them in revelry. Abdur Rahim recited some Pushto verses. The European chaps drank and tried to get some ladies to dance with, but failing in their object they had to make pairs amongst themselves and they danced a bit.

11th September 1898, Sunday.

I will relate today an event which shows the characteristic feature of the British mind — they think that everybody is bound to follow closely their fashion. Mr. Abdur Rahim showd a certain carelessness wearing his shirt outside of his pant. This engaged the attention of all and invited several remarks. An English chap, more pertinent than the rest, remarked that his shirt was flowing outside of his pant. Then another remarked that it was a pity that he was going to England to join some college and had no respect enough for ladies to wear his shirt inside his pant. The foolish reply was that it is our Pathan fashion. But the pert rejoinder was that you are in a British steamer and you are bound not to stagger the sense of delicacy and taste of the passengers. But the impertinent chaps went so far as to call him Mr. Shirt. However, to turn the joke into their teeth, I told Abdur Rahim to call his inveigher Mr. Pant which he accordingly did and thus saved himself many annoying remarks and annoying inquiries.

These Englishmen, well they are proud no doubt and look down upon every other nation. Alas for the old Rajput chiefs, those valorous knights, strongholds of truth and purity, their bloody swords would have opened the arteries of pride and hate of the foreigners. But we[6], we degenerated sons of those noble men, are powerless. Let

God regenerate us, for he is vengeful and cannot brook the proud, loves the pious.

12th September 1898, Monday.

We reached Suez Canal. At its very mouth Suez lights entertained us. The variety of lights, their reflection in the sea water, calmness of the weather, still starry heaven above and its flickering reflection in the sea bore a sight which besides being entertaining aroused several very serious reflections. Again and again to my mind came the verses of Mr. Arnold. The stillness and clamness bore a very striking contrast with my disturbed impatient mind. Would the clamness be mine? No, it is a dream of the fairyland. In the very name of humanity there is a struggle which constitutes its nobility.

At Suez, the steamer started for a while. Several boats approached the steamer and black negroes, Arabs (all Christians) were seen approaching and in an instant on the deck, which they did by mounting by ropes. They were all cheats. There were newspapers, grapes and several other things (wares). Ladies and gentlemen did a good deal of shopping, buying a deal (sic) of curiosities. But I think there will be hardly one who was not cheated by these rascals. They talked English and could understand no Arabic. You see this is a little strange, is it not? The ship moved but very slowly, now and then stopping, I believe With no more speed than 4 miles per hour.

13th September 1898, Tuesday.

At the evening-tide we reached Port Said. When we were at a distant, (sic) high many-storied buildings on the shore and a number of steamers in the sea attracted our sight. After taking the evening repast almost all the passengers left for the shore. I myself left in company with Muhammad Said, Abdur Rahim, Sheriff and two Hindu gentlemen from Merutt. The cost of the boat to shore was 6 pence per person. We went ashore. Port Said, as is usual with all the ports, is a busy place. Streets were broad and

clean. Houses and shops are airy and grand. There are a lot of Restaurants and Hotels. Its inhabitants consist of the shop-keepers, merchants and women of evil character. No sooner were we in the street than the voices of cigars, tea, coffee, whisky, where raised by the various shop-keepers. The street was very well lighted and the shops clean and looked pretty. So the general impression of the city was a favourable one. We proceeded and the general merchants, cloth merchants, fruit sellers all were there. But abundance was of Restaurants and Coffee houses. When we turned to a by-street, a number of boys and youths whispered in our ears - 'beautiful girls, charming girls, prostitutes concubines'. We turned a deaf ear to these wretches who are a curse to humanity.

We were standing there surrounded by a lot of these devils and two girls approached us. Both of them were very well wrapped in chadars but they unveiled their faces and laughed in our faces, perhaps to charm us and attract our attention. I had but little time to mark their features. They were not much above 5 feet, not very fat, well proportioned according to their height, bearing pretty faces, but with no special and extra-ordinary charms. Their cheeks no doubt looked smooth, but then their eyes were not enticing, in short, the girls which we thus chanced to see, were not charming.

The morality of Port Said seems to be in common with other ports, rather lax, nay, it is even worse than can be borne, when we think of what we are and what we ought to be. There are a number of prostitutes and they have engaged a number of go-betweens. No doubt their abundance is to some extent to be attributed to those characters who pass by this port, because it is only their want, that has secured the abundance of supply. To me they have borne a spectacle which wounded my sense of honour of humanity ; what a pity human beings should descend so low as to approach lower animals in worship

ping their passions.

The language in use is broken English. You will find hardly anybody who can talk Arabic. There are some Muslims, but you will find many Englishmen there. In fact, there is no religion extent except that of deception, cheating and debauchery. Here the evil effects of commerial place are most prominent. Our steamer S.S. Australia standing away from the shore with all its cabins lighted and the lighted windows reflected in the sea presented an extremely beautiful scene. As we took our seats in the boat and rowed towards the steamer, the lights of the steamer reflected in the sea which was in motion, communicated the impression of a waving of fire and this greatly pleased us. I was filled with the beauty of the scene about me and the splendour and the sublimity of the Power above overawed me and I was mightily pleased and enjoyed this state of my mind.

14th September 1898, Wednesday

Last evening at Port Said there came a juggler on board S. S. Australia. He entertained the passengers by his craft and really his handicraft was amazing and I am very sorry to say that I could not detect even a single one of his tricks. He had a chicken with him which he pretended could tell him of all secrets. He would hold the chicken in one hand and with the other pull its head and bring out an egg and then give the egg to the chicken which would gulp it down. It seemed to me that he had made some cave in his hand where he would conceal the egg. Then he would throw his hand into somebody's face and bring forth an egg. He played many tricks, took 3 shillings and put them in a handkerchief and gave it to a lady and asked her to hold the pieces tightly. Then he touched the handkerchief and muttered something, and then snatched the handkerchief off the lady's hand and found no pieces whatever in it, etc. etc. This was all of course very creditable to him.

I am persuaded to believe that genius is at everybody's command ; and that there are innumerable outlets for it. Genius shines out of a rogue as much as out of a scientist. Moreover, every branch has its own culminating point, you can attain excellence in every branch only if you are inclined to it.

We are now in the Mediterranean. It is not rough ; but then it is not calm. However, it does not disturb us very much although it has taken my hunger off.

I have got a Railway coupon from Marseilles to London via Calais and Dover. I have after all decided to go by the overland route.

15th September 1898, Thursday

In the evening I went down to Abdur Rahim's cabin and we were talking together, when a lady, a neighbour of Abdur Rahim, approached us and sat by us and somehow or other managed to thrust herself in our talk. Another one joined the company and we went on talking and joking. A third one (some Police Officer's wife) joined the company. All the joking and talking was simply trash and all the three ladies seemed to be underbred. Abdur Rahim was asked to sing and he the presumptuous chap without any tact of singing and without even the gift of a melodious voice began to 'hoohoo'. However, the ladies could not either admire or find fault with it and for his impudence he went on.

I have mentioned the above incident, simply to show that the European system of liberty for women affords a great deal of facility for the corruption of morality. I am of opinion that it cannot produce a single good result while there is no limit to its possible defects. It comes to be regarded almost as a refreshment to have a flirtation. No, it is to pave the way for the success of evil propensities. Again, those women who have been crying for liberty must be worse than males. They must remember that very few

of their sex bear such comely faces as to court general admiration. How, if a woman who can lay no great claims to general admiration and gets herself married, she must always be in fear of a comelier and lovelier rival especially when she grows older. But if the Purdah system is enforced then every such anxiety is removed. As for the force of this argument ask a lady who is suffering from this same heart-rending disease and she will open her heart by cursing the advocates of liberty for women.

16th September 1898, Friday

The sea had been unusually rough last night and a storm of rain broke out at morning. However, the atmosphere cleared very soon. At about 10 am we approached near to the strait between Italy and Sicily. The breadth of the Strait is less than three quarter of a mile. The sea had become awfully smooth and calm. After 8 am not even a ripple was visible. The scenery presented to our sight was exquisitely beautiful. On both sides of the sea, mountains clad with green trees were clearly visible and these green mountains were here and there spotted by beautiful splendid houses which seemed to descend so far down the sea as to stand in the sea, but it is beyond doubt that they were very close to the sea water. All along the sea side several cities in the green wood were visible. On one side a grand tall monument attracted the attention of the passengers. These white many storied houses surrounded by the tall green trees of the mountain wood and standing right high while the ocean water hissed at their feet presented a very nice spectacle. It presented a home meet for a poet, to meditate upon the beauty of nature and to realise the worth of that Creator whose least artifice cannot be fully comprehended by the best of our intellects, and all though intellect itself remains a mystery never to be solved, because explanation or solution means reduction into something.

About 3 am we passed by a volcano. I have been a

little unwell today. I have not attended the dining and have taken nothing except an apple and some fruit salt.

17th September 1898, Saturday

In this mail steamer there are six of the Indian students homeward bound for study. One is Mohammad Sheriff[7] coming from Patna. He is a lad of 17 brought up in some European school and knows nothing of Persian and Arabic but is a smatterer in Latin. His brother and uncle had been to Cambridge before him. Five or six years' hard work might secure him success in the C. S. But I fear he is not a very hard working chap. Another is my cousin, Mohammad Said, 19 years old. He knows nothing worthy of any note. Has but very little inclination towards hard work. But then he promised his father success in the C.S. He might obtain his Degree (ordinary) at Cambridge and claim the Diploma of Bar too.[8]

Then comes Abdur Rahim Kindi son of Azim Khan belonging to the D.I. Khan Distt. His father is immensely rich. He, A Rahim, in spite of his very hard work, failed in the Intermediate Exam. He says he will work, but I can't expect much from him. Then there are two Hindu brothers, very similar in appearance and shape, with a year or so of difference in their ages. They are odd chaps indeed. They know not what for they are coming and all they talk is simply nonsense. I have never known anything more foolish than these chaps. They talk about getting a servant from India and keeping a cart horse in London etc. I know not what is the use of sending up to England such very odd men.

18th September 1898, Sunday.

We reached Marseilles very early in the morning. The docks present a good scenery. All the streets are broad and on either side grand buildings amaze the stranger. These buildings are six and sometimes seven stories high. But I fear Marseilles does not claim much of cleanliness. I have

seen filthiness and dirt spotting the streets all through. And then the fashion is so very ludicrous. Some men (of course these belonging to low classes) were seen making water in the streets. The city is very much after London, whose full description will be given afterwards. The most entertaining thing that pleased me very much was the Zoologique de Marseilles. It was very well supplied with all the sorts of birds and other animals, including camel, elephant and lion etc. But the peculiarity was in the stone work and marble architecture. There were several kine, mew and other animals too, as the product of some excellent carver. All the more attentively you look at them, the more beauties you will find in them.

Beauty of Marseilles. For the first time, I have here beheld the women with moustaches and beard. They are so fat as a she-buffaloo, as ruddy as the condensed blood and then very bad looking. No doubt some of the better sort were also there. Now and then a pair of bright and black or bright blue eyes was to be met with. But then all that could lay any claim to prettiness were short of size—not exceeding 5.3 and these were harmoniously developed, yet lacking in grace. General scenery of Marseilles was that of a busy port, built very much after the London city. The bazars were very crowded. But the enticing thing was that here and there small hills intercepted the busy quarters of the city.

It is indeed a blessing that this is the period of Agencies and Companies. When we reached Marseilles, not a single individual was known to us. We were quite astonished to see no one understanding us and we comprehending none. There we worked like the dumb and the deaf. But the help of Henry S. King & Co.'s agent was at hand and we got through the trial pretty comfortably. But a still harder trial was waiting for us, one from which there was no escape possible. We had to pass through France and knew not know to talk French. We devised many

schemes of supplying our necessities. For instance we tried to give French garb to English words saying Cakio, Lamonadio, Bisquitio, etc. It served a little. But the dumb and deaf system worked very well. Supposing we wanted a dozen of biscuits. Then we used to lay our hand upon biscuits and raise our fingers and point to our breast, meaning by all this process that we wanted so many biscuits to buy. Then the shopkeeper would take out some coins and showed them to us and we had to hand so many over to him. I am of opinion that no one can live even a week when he can neither understand nor make himself intelligible to others.

19th September 1898, Monday.

The Railway management with all the abundance of traffic is on the whole good. Every now and then two or more trains will be found in each terminal. One train starts and then is followed by another within a few minutes space. The carriage compartments are pretty comfortable but then there are no apartments for Latrine etc. Perhaps it is so because the train moves very fast and even in the longest continued journey, not more than 12 hours are required. From Marseilles to Paris and thence to Calais, all around the railways, only the cultivated ground was visible. Here and there green hills entertained the eye tired of the sight of lime and stone. Several beautiful jungles containing very tall trees were also seen.

Paris is immensely large and seems to be built after London. Hence I defer its description. The train which ran between Marseilles and Paris was an extremely irregular one. It arrived at Paris 5 hours too late. Is it not very strange? But the train which took us from Nord to Calais was a very swift one. From Calais we took to a small steamer, which rolled just like Clyde, even worse, in the English channel. It even went so far as to make me sea-sick and I vomited twice. In two hours we were at Dover, whence we took a train to Charing Cross. It went on pretty

rapidly and by 8 O/clock was on the Charing Cross platform. The scene which London streets and houses presented to us was really pleasant and gratifying.

We left the train, gathered our luggage, took a cab and went to Anderton's Hotel. We went directly to our bed rooms and lied down tired and exhausted to refresh ourselves by sound sleep.

20th September 1898, Tuesday.

It was our first day in London and let me tell you what effect this greatest city of the world produced on our minds. We had a bath and clad ourselves in our new suits and sat anxiously waiting for our friends. We waited and waited, but no friends came. We were tired. Looking down into the Fleet Street from the drawing room window, we were quite puzzled, just like a dog put into a looking-glass-house. We knew not what to do. To make our isolation more oppressive, the Hotel happened to be a very bad one. No, I should say, the treatment of the waiters on the table, because everything which we ordered was nasty and quite unfavourable. I couldn't eat anything and I feared my health very much in the case of such a treatment. Nay, more than that, I was afraid lest this food be a true sample of the English dishes. Mr. Hyams[9] did not come till 2 pm and Gyan Singh was never seen. So I was determined to go to Mr. Hyams. I took a bus to Charing Cross whence I had to take another to Kilburn. But waiting for some 15 minutes and knowing not what to do, I put myself in a cab which took me to his house. There Mrs. Hyams greeted me and showed herself ready to receive me. She said that a letter had been posted to me last night, but it was a pity that I did not receive it. However, I promised to come tomorrow in the afternoon and went back to Fleet Street. I paid the cabman 5 sh. but he charged half a crown more which I did give him. But the fact is he cheated me.

21st September 1898, Wednesday.

Early in the morning, Abdur Rahim received a tele

gram from Mir Alam asking him to wait for him up to one O'clock. This telegram was followed by Shah Nawaz s/o Zahur Din, Pleader D.I. Khan. The gentleman above named came to us, greeted us. A short time and Mir Alam also came in. They talked a bit and all of them left the Hotel to find apartments. I declined to go with them and remained in the Hotel till 3 p.m. when I paid my bill. I lost at least 10 shillings. All is cheat in London. I took a cab and went directly to 82 Brondesbury Villas, Kilburn. There I went in to my bedroom which was furnished with necessary articles of use. (Later on I will give an exhaustive description of my room). After an hour, I was taken to the drawing room by Mr. Mohammad Ali.[10] He is a gentleman, graduate of Aligarh College, resident of Rampur. He is now a student of the Oxford University, preparing himself for the I.C.S. He is quite at home with the family. Then came Miss Beck. I was introduced to them. Then came two Muslim gentlemen, one of them was attending the Medical College at Edinburgh, the other (the former's brother) had just arrived from India and was going to Oxford to prepare himself for the ICS. We passed an exceedingly pleasant evening, talked literature, philosophy, politics and what not. This sample of the English home life is an extremely good one. I dare say the purest. May God keep me in such pure honourable circles. Amen.

22nd September 1898, Thursday.

Last night Mr. Mohammad Ali had been kind enough to make a list of clothes etc. which I wanted. After taking an early breakfast we two left the house and went to Wren & Gurney,[11] there I gave in my name but the establishment will open on the 1st of October. Today the C.S. result was out. But it is a pity that Kanwar Sain[12] and Balak Ram both of them failed. A Muslim gentleman Ghazanfar Ali Khan succeeded. I am told it was his second chance. But then hardly anybody ever gets through in his first chance. Mr. Taylor told me that he did not expect Kanwar Sain through, but he hopes that he will get through next time. I

do not even expect to pass in my first year. Let God help me and nothing is too hard for me. No doubt, Balak Ram is by far my superior, yet unknown are the ways of God almighty. We went to Oxford Circus and ordered a dinner suit at Dore & Sons, Conduit Street. Thence we went to Ludgate Hill and ordered Hope Brothers a sack suit and did a good deal of shopping as to socks, shirts, ties, bows, etc. Then we went to Baker & Sons and ordered fancy vests, chesterfield overcoat, a big thick overcoat water-proof. We returned to our house where Mrs. Hyams had been anxiously awaiting us because she was to catch the train to see Mrs. Arnold. I entered my bed room, wrote letters to my father, Mr. Arnold, Mr. Ussher,[13] Henry S. King & Co. I felt very lonely because the rest were away to see fireworks. I went to bed early.

23rd September, 1898, Friday.

Went to various outfitters to try my suits and back to my room at 1.30 quite tired. London life is an extremely busy one. Today I scribbled my Diary; and in future I hope to keep it up regularly. But here I mean to make a note of the subjects which I must discuss in my Diary.

I. Busy streets of London.

II. The family I live in.

III. My own room.

IV. Can the London immorality affect us ?

V. The I.C.S. exam. and its preparation.

In the evening we had a very hot discussion. Really we had not fixed upon the topic, the subject under discussion was quite vague, and all the more vague because the branch of knowledge to which it belongs is far from precise. We were talking about Religion, Blind belief etc. Various faiths were reviewed. The great question of is

civilisation a blessing? was brought forward and I could assure everybody that none can pass his opinion on the point. The only access the opposite argument can command is from the postern door of perfection. Humanity is progressive and every scale in it is superior to the last one. But this is a language of mysticism. It presumes the very disputed point because I don't for a moment believe in perfection. Had I any belief in it, the discussion would never have arisen. If civilisation has brought us purer and intenser delights, it had been attended by horrible pains and grievous distractions. As for fine taste, I dare say that its possessor is none the better for it. His pleasures are very pure indeed and perhaps not as much liable to be followed by pains as others are. But then an incongruous figure, a misplaced clause and especially the weakness and frailty of human nature make him so much distressed that he cannot sometimes keep his own company. Hume has said that fine taste is the dealer in pure pleasure. But I fear, Hume, with all his scepticism, did not look deep into the matter. Had he done so, he would have pronounced everything not even excluding fine taste as mere chimera and unattainable. It is a name given to outside of taste, overlooking its black side simply to flatter ourselves.

24th September 1898, Saturday.

In the evening, we (Mohammad Ali and his two friends and myself) went to dine at Miss Becks. We took a train and stepped down at the Wildway station. Thence we took a bus which in a few minutes took us to the house of our hostesses. We were all clad in dinner suits. Mr. Mohammad Ali was already an intimate of the house, and we three were rather new. After taking off our overcoats, we were shown into the drawing room where we were greeted by our hostess. An easy talk went on and everything was very smooth, the ladies were indeed very obliging. There was a gentleman, rather old, but bearing very good manners and all that could be wished. The dinner-bell rang and the ladies proceeded to the dining hall

followed by us four and our host closed the door. During the dinner an easy talk went on. The dishes were two or three, but well cooked. There was no fastidiousness, still everything was entertaining. Thence we went back to the drawing room in the same order as we had entered. There I saw a photo of a child, something less than 2 years old, but he seemed to be very clever and very roguish. Oh, I like him so much. Then we talked a little and then went in to several games. I played chess with my host and after a rather unpleasant and idle play beat him, but I was not much gratified by my success, simply because no very skilful move was ever made. We had tea then. In short we enjoyed it very much and were quite gratified. We left our hostesses by 9.50 p.m.

25th September 1898, Sunday.

At 10 O'clock I was taken by Mr. Hyams to the family doctor. His house is not more than a mile off from our's. An easy drive of the bus took us to his house. His name is Gester. His house was very well furnished, with comforts and almost all the new professional apparatus. He is a man who seems to have seen more than forty winters, but is well built and firm bearing marks of sound health.

First of all he took down my complaints, now and then putting some professional questions of his. He advised me never to put off my spectacles even for a moment in my working hours, for it will give headache, its reason being strain of the eyesight. Then I told him that my case was that of mixed astigmatism. He examined the glasses very carefully and tried to find out their number, but he was not quite successful here. Then, he saw my eyes and assured me that they were not diseased with anything but astigmatism. Then he examined my lungs and assured me that there was nothing wrong with them. Then he examined my stomach and found out that my stomach was dilated and that I should take no fat, no fruit, nothing sour, no pastry; but porridge, meat, cooked fruit, tea,

bread (no curry), pure water (no lemonade or soda); and gave me a prescription for it. Then he examined my tongue and said its being always bad was due to its own disease, a skin having grown on it and is not due to stomach. Then he examined those eruptions on my arms and said that it was a very queer case and that he would not touch them but gave some arsenic to be taken twice with meals and the other one thrice after meals. I am of opinion that he is very good doctor indeed and his bearing towards his patients is simply admirable. He is very observant too and sympathetic to his patients. He said that walking, bicycling and tennis were the only exercises I should take. So I am ready to buy a bicycle and he told me that I had better get another spectacle without the blue tinge and Mr. Hyams told me that he could get me one in gold frame for 30 shillings. The fee of this doctor was half a guinea and this prescription cost 3sh & 4d. (Sic). So it cost me in all 14 sh., but then it was quite necessary. He told me that my right wisdom tooth was out but not the left one and that it was growing.

26th September 1898, Monday.

I tried to go to Mr. Ussher, but I failed. Today was a fast day of the Jews and Hyams have kept it, nothing to eat from 5.45 p.m. to next evening 6.30 p.m. The Jews are very particular about it.

I have bought a pair of boots today for 12 sh 6d. My trunk has arrived and I believe there has been no pilfering from it. I have been feeling better. I read a bit today and in the evening too. Had a regular walk. There are close to our house some four or five roads which are quiet and calm, no traffic, no crowd, no bustle at all and these are quite inviting for a bicycle ride. I am bent upon having one, otherwise bus driving will make me quite uncomfortable, going to, coming back from Powis Square daily is quite a nuisance. The ticket to Powis Square is at least 3d and then a lot of walk, and at least a cost of 45 minutes. If I get a

bicycle, I can ride in 30 minutes to the utmost. So it will save half an hour daily, no if I remain dependent upon the bus, sometimes I will have to wait for half an hour. This bicycle will save me at least I hour daily and 6d daily or 12 sh. at least monthly, or 7 pounds annually or say 20 pounds during my stay at London. Besides, I will be able to enjoy the cool breeze of the various parks, So I am almost decided to get one, but I don't want to spend more than 15 pounds on it, and if I get one for 9 or 10 pounds it will be quite a luck. Now I have asked Mrs. Hyams to get some one to teach me bicycling. I wish I could learn it easily and without having any fall. Amen.

I received 3 letters form India - my father who addressed me at Bombay, Main Ghulam Farid[14] and my sister from Murree, both of them addressing me here. I hope to reply them and also to write to Ghulam Bhik[15] whose letter my father has forwarded to me.

Mohd Said and Abdur Rahim came to see me. We had a chat of an hour and half. They have not spent on clothes as much as I have done. But it is because they are quite unprovied for, while I have got all the things necessary for a frugal gentleman. But I want one thing more and that is 'the dressing gown'. But I won't have it before January, my Kabuli Khosa[16] serves the purpose so well.

Mohammad Said is decided to go to Cambridge, while Abdur Rahim after a stay of 3 months in London intends to go to Oxford. All these men have got nothing to pay for tuition etc, while I pay 12 pounds monthly which are more than sufficient to keep you up in London. If I chance to fail, which God forbid, I lose 108 pounds. Now to tell you the truth 250 pounds which amount to Rs. 3750 that is nearly four thousand rupees. Out these nonsense thoughts. I have begun it and I must carry it out, let it come to what it will.

27th September 1898, Tuesday.

In the evening I saw Mr. Ussher. We talked a good deal. Then he showed to me the photo of his would be wife. She is not to tell you the truth, pretty. He is going to Shropshire to get himself married and their wedding day is the 15th October. He won't invite me and so I am in no humour to present her with any gift. The fact is that Mr. Ussher was never very social; he had not the courtesy to invite me to dinner or anything else.

Thence I went to the Lyceum to see Macbeth acted on the stage. It was my first time at an English theatre so I had better give a description of it. In the lowest story in the aisles are situated mistrals, as I should call them, a large band playing upon various musical instruments and in the centre is situated what is known as the pit, the lowest, class of visitors. Then in the same level with the stage are 'boxes', and a story higher 'stalls', and then a story still higher is gallery. The theatre looks more like a palace than anything else. Lyceum is a splendid building indeed.

Now for 'action' proper. No doubt, the scenery throughout the play was simply beautiful. The scene of witches was extremely beautiful. Then the scene of the King's arrival was also worthy of admiration and the scene of Macbeth's feast presented good scene and good action both of them. To crown these all came the last but the first in the scale of beauty and admiration-the scene of battle between Macbeth and Malcolm. The scenery was splendid and quite natural. The part of Macbeth was played very well. Macbeth was rather dull and indifferent in the beginning, but he shone later on. Lady Macbeth played pretty well. But she won admiration in the scene of her night walking.

The fact is this that such plays tax the brain and lay a strain on mind as a whole. Therein is nothing to soothe the mind. Everything presses hard and sometimes pricks too.

It is nothing but a rehearsal of the burden of the villain to show the depth of misery which the unsound souls measure. I cannot as a matter of fact enjoy such plays. There is not much which touches the heart, on the contrary everything in such plays is averse to pity and sympathy. I like Romantic tragedies. Comedies do not carry much weight with me and the favourite thing with me is a Romantic-tragico-comic play.

28th September 1898, Wednesday.

In the evening I went to see Professor Salmone. After a lot of wandering I found my way to Colville Gardens; and searched after No.39 and it was not done without the cost of some trouble. It rang and rang and rang and nobody turned out. After some ten minutes, a maid servant took me in and a moment later Mr. Salmone was shown in. I was imagining my professor a very scholarly-looking gentleman with a big head full of the Arabic stuff, living in a very nice house, richly furnished. But the room in which our interview took place was a small dark room containing a bed, a table, some chairs and two shelves full of books-in short it was a bed-sitting-studying room. He told me that it is not difficult to get you through in Arabic, and he said that he always gives his own notes on grammar and prosody, and that the text for the present is "Kalaila and Damna" and that I require an Arabic grammar dictionary. But I fear his pronuniciation was not good at all; yet he showed to me the Dictionary which was his own production; and then he said that he had produced a Grammar too. The fact is that he could not be believed. He looked so unlike an author. But then the appearances are deceptive and let me see what he will do for me.

Mrs. Hyams has been very kind in getting me thick wool vests and pants for under wearing. I hope these will keep me warm against all cold. This is I should think fortunate. Mrs. Hyams is so very kind as to do a lot of shopping for me, marking my clothes, buying books for me, in short

she takes care for me and I cannot possibly pay for her sisterly cares. I wish I could serve her in any way . My sisters no doubt love me immensely, it is their pleasure to wake for nights only if they can serve me. I remember my sister sewing me a kerchief for 14 hours daily. Is it not wonderful; really they do worship me and I believe I love them. But, taking into consideration the few days I have been here and that I should think, hardly any of my merits had had an occasion to display itself, Mrs. Hyams is so very kind that I cannot but feel highly obliged to her.

29th September 1898, Thursday.

Mrs. Arnold, mother of T.W. Arnold, Professor Govt. College Lahore, came here to pay a visit to Hyams. It was a party of 3 ladies - one of them mother, the other sister and the third cousin to T.W. Arnold, my friend. I was introduced to them. We went on talking and beguiled the time. Mrs. Arnold thought that the contour of the lower part of the face resembled to Thomas's and she liked me very much. Then she talked to me of the childhood of Thomas and said that in his early school days, he achieved some success and then become vain and proud. He was made captain of the school and it all the more made him vain and he was spoiled and the winning of prizes completed his destruction. But then his name got entered in the City School, London and he was the lowest boy in the school. It smote his heart and made him miserable because he was dislodged from his seat of eminence, and found himself just at the bottom. In those days he was morose and serene. But he struggled on and attained a pretty good position. Blanche Arnold, his sister, related to me the characteristic peculiarities of her brother e.g. he was always running and never walking, looking as if he were a maniac.

Then Mrs. Arnold gave me an account of her family. She said Thomas was the 3rd; two of her daughters were in India in the education branch, one at Gibraltar and the

youngest living with her. Mrs. Arnold is an aged cheerful pleasant woman; and if I dare say, has a good deal of information of India. She is very glad to read the long pleasant letters of her daughters and son, who give her pleasant descriptions and details of their daily life. Miss Arnold is a young lady, under twenty, very well brought up and pretty well educated. She is of a good cheerful temperament, laying claims to no very particular talents but very entertaining. But she has, I fear, narrow, imprudent prejudices which are the common lot of the English ladies. The cousin of Mr. Arnold, she is a strong stout lady showing clearly that she has enjoyed the healthy climate of country she belongs to, Devonshire.

As it was raining, Mr. Mohummad Ali and myself went to the top of the street to see the ladies off. We placed them in a proper omnibus and came back to our home.

30th September 1898, Friday.

Whatever business I have to transact, I must do it, but the fact is I do not like the trade, nay it strains my nerves too much. However, I must do what I have got to do. But I asked Mrs. Hyams to help me and she was very kind to offer the necessary help. We went to the Kilburn railway station. Mohd Said had come to see me and he too was with us. Mrs. Hyams was very kind to ask him for tea in the evening, but he never came. We went to Hope Brothers where I tried my sacksuit and finding some fault with the coat I asked the Manager to send it over to me tomorrow. Then we went to C. Baker where I tried my heavy Ulster waterproof overcoat. Mrs. Hyams liked it very much indeed. She said that it was lovely. Then we went to Strutler the printer. After half an hour's discussion he came to terms and was satisfied with sh 4/6 instead of 6/6. I saw Mrs. Hyams off to her mother's house, while I returned to my house and had a good dinner awaiting me.

I wrote last night some 4 letters and 2 cards to India. I

have written a long letter to my father and another to my uncle and another to my sister, and another to my friend Ghulam Bhik. The two cards were to Pir Taj Din[17] and Harnam Das. I have asked my father to send some wares and clothes to me.

1st October 1898, Saturday.

Went to Mr. Taylor at 10 o'clock. but there were a dozen of students already with him and he said that he cannot see me just now, but will feel highly obliged if I came to him say at 3 p.m. I was a bit annoyed. Came back to my home. Mr. Taylor prepared for me a certificate, advised me as to the choice of the subjects, cautioned me against moral Philosophy and esp. Logic. But I told him plainly that it was almost impossible for me to leave the subjects for these are already prepared. Then he said that I should not rely upon philosophy and should not devote much time to it and that out of 800 maximum marks I should not expect more than 250. However I was bent upon taking it and I did not give up my resolution. So the subjects were - 1. Arabic 250; 2. English Literature 150; 3. English Composition 150; 4. English History 200; 5. General Modern History 200; 6. Political Science 200; 7. English Law 150; 8. Moral Science 150; 9. Mental Science and Logic 150; and 10. Elementary Mathematics 200; amounting to maximum of 3500 + 800 + 900 = 5200. These will give 1800 marks. But I must try to make up 2000 at least. Mr. Edwards is Professor of Mathematics and a good deal of management lies in his hands too.

2nd October 1898, Sunday.

Kept myself in the house all the day long. From Myers and Co I have brought a lot of books on Literature. It is perhaps extravagance. I have Byron, Scott, Moore, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and others. In the evening Beckie, a relation of Hyams was invited together with her

would-be husband. I was introduced to both of them; the gentleman is in business.

3rd October 1898, Monday.

Went to Wren's establishment. There were lecturers in Arabic, English Literature, Political Science, Mathematics and English Law. Prof. Salmone (Arabic) seems to be a good and learned man. He gave me notes on Grammar; he was clear and precise in his expression, and I am quite satisfied with him. Mr. Read (E. Literature) is not very satisfactory. He does not seem to be very precise and master of the subject. Political Science was taught by Professor Reich. He is a very clever jolly fellow, precise in his expression, possessing a good deal of humour which is the very life of a Professor's lecture. He made very good remarks on the subject and gave very useful suggestions as to the mode of study. Mr. Edwards (for Mathematics) did not teach anything because the time-table was changed. He is one of the leading English Mathematicians. Our Professor of Law was missing.

Today I went to the Dining Room. Ah, how dirty these were and extremely unclean, I wish I had never been there. They gave me mutton and it was not worth eating; they gave me tea and there was meat (I mean a fly or two) in it. I was quite dissatisfied.

4th October 1898, Tuesday.

Went to the College - Moral Philosophy Professor (Mr. Read) is not, I believe, quite up to the subject. I don't know how he managed to secure the 1st class. Mr. Edwards is a good mathematician and a very good teacher too. Mr. Reich lectured on General Modern History and English History. He is very happy in expressions and illustrations and humorous remarks which carve his ideas of the subject in your mind by very strong and pleasant associations.

It was at about 6.30 p.m. that I left the institution. It was very dark and we had to grope our way downstairs. I was in very good spirits. Mrs. Hyams has been very kind to come to me by appointment at the corner of the Richmond Road and we went to Whitelaw's and had lunch. Then she gave me all the necessary information about lunch and showed to me the proper places for it.

5th October 1898, Wednesday.

I have had after all my first lesson in bicycling this afternoon. At first I thought I will not be able to get on very well and I was a little nervous. Mr. Drewett[18] had caught hold of the bicycle from fore and behind. But within 15 minutes, he could safely leave his hold of the fore part and grasp with one hand the back portion of the seat. Another quarter of an hour and he could only lay his hand without any need of a firm grasp and after the 4th quarter he could sometimes leave hold of it once for all. So he said that I was wonderfully improving and that he had never seen anybody so apt to learn. Now I am confident that tomorrow I will be able to go on by my ownself. The rules are:

1. Let your hands grasp the bicycle very tightly and do not depend upon your hold.
2. Let your forepart of the foot rest on the staple and not the whole of it.
3. Look in the front and not downwards.
4. Do not sit stiff, but easily.

Mr. Drewett had hired a bicycle for me and as some minutes were passed, so I paid him 1 shilling for two hours. In all I gave him half a crown to keep with himself and pay the expenses.

Mr. Drewett had taken a lot of trouble. He had been running along with my bicycle for at least one hour. Moreover he had to hold a very firm grasp on the bicycle, in

other words, he was supporting 1 maund 20 seers of weight. I fear poor fellow would have been tired.

I was introduced by Mr. Hyams to Mrs. Feedelbury, a German lady. She had a nice baby with her and the baby could speak German as well as English.

6th October 1898, Thursday.

Worked pretty well and prepared especially for Mathematics, let us see what it comes to.

7th October 1898, Friday.

I had a very busy day at Wren's. I have the satisfaction to think that I have worked pretty well during the last five days and have at the some time acquired a lot of skill in bicycling. I am quit a success. I could proceed without any help.

8th October 1898, Saturday.

Wrote an essay on Criticism and Creation in Art and Literature and showed it to Mr. Hyams. On the whole he approved of it and cautioned me against -1. The use of the first person; 2. Repeating of the same word; 3. The use of crude expressions. He said that the essay could secure 60 p.c. I wish I could improve myself.

Mr. Mohammadd Ali again and again asked me to go with him to be photographed. But I was decided to have no photo at all, so I made an excuse, but he won't hear of it and was cross with me, nay even went so far as to talk nonsense and make foolish jokes. I would have been very glad to go with him, but I could not, simply because -

1. I have never been photographed before; and
2. I was in a very low spirit and I was afraid of communicating this seriousness and gloom to the party which would have destroyed the whole effect.

I was really feeling some signs of a very bad cc [illegible]. My

throat was sore and the refuse of the brain was failing on it. I could read nothing during the day time.

In the evening I went to Becks. Miss Beck treated me very kindly and after an hour or so, I left the house in company with Mr. Mohd Ali. Miss Beck was kind enough to say that she will be pleased to see me on Saturday or Sunday afternoon.

9th October 1898, Sunday.

I was worse and a very bad cold was expected. The day was rainy and very cold. I had to go to Coopers at Richmond for dinner. Mr. Mohammad Ali and myself left home at quarter to two and just missed the train at Brondesbury station and travelled by another to Kew Bridge. At Brondesbury station, Mr. Mohd Ali bought some pears and grapes and as I felt extremely hungry, on account of the dinner-time, I also took some grapes and a couple of pears. This was a very bad thing indeed and quite inadvisable on my part. It was raining. We took a train at Kew Bridge and were due at No. 3 Sheen Park, Richmond by 3.45 pm when the dinner was over. Mrs. Cooper was very jolly and very entertaining. Mr. Said-uz-Zafar was there and we came back by 7 pm.

At 7.15 pm two young boys Dreweds (second cousins of my instructor Mr. Drewett our second door neighbour) came to see Mr. M. Ali, who introduced me to them. They talked all boyish nonsense of athletics and nothing else. I was feeling rather sickly when I went to bed.

10th October 1898, Monday.

In the morning, I felt extremely poor in health. I had a very bad cold. My eyes were full of water and could not speak on account of bad throat. I was very poor in health. Mr. Hyams was kind enough to call me and he wrote to Dr. Gester to see me. Mrs. Hyams was very kind to see me and she later on read to me a chapter of lemma. Dr. Gester came and told me that there was nothing very serious and

that I will get better very soon. He said that you are much better now and that this cold was merely accidental.

In the evening Said-uz-Zafar and Abdul Vahid came in as our guests and we had some speeches on M. Ali's departure and all was very pleasant.

Miss Julia, a niece of Mr. Hyams came in and I was introduced to her. We had singing too and all was very pleasant.

I missed the lectures of Monday which were rather important.

11th october 1898, Tuesday.

I feel much better today. Went to the Railway Station of Paddington to see Mr. Ali off to Oxford. He is not a deep man and such character is never secure from accidents which sometime happen to be rather unpleasant. Attended all the lectures.

12th October 1898, Wednesday.

Attended my lectures. Improving in health. It is very strange that the purgative medicine prescribed by Dr.Gester had hardly any effect on me.

13th October 1898, Thursday.

Went to see Dr. Gester. He examined me and assured me that I was quite well and that my stomach has made extremely good improvement. He discontinued both of the previous prescriptions and prescribed some pills and quinine-wine. He examined my throat too and prescribed another pair of glasses for my eyes.

14th October 1989, Friday.

I am improving. Mr. Hyams has bought for me a new Bicycle for 12 guineas or say 200 Rs. It is very good

machine I am told at least worth 15 pounds. But the only difficulty is that I have not as yet fully mastered the art.

15th October 1898, Saturday.

I finished Pride and Prejudice. It is a novel in no way worthy of notice. I put it in the large family of books of no special merit and for the publication of which their authors can offer no better reason than the earning of livelihood or simply vanity. There is hardly any striking thing in it which is worthy of special notice. I will write a short essay on the book.

16th October 1898, Sunday.

I went to Becks and Mrs. Hyams did the favour of accompanying me to pay a visit to Becks. Up to one o'clock it was a fine weather, but at about two it began to rain; and after wavering between going and staying we set out for Brondesbury station whence we took the train to Mildmay Park. There is no train from Kilburn on Sundays. From Mildmay we took a bus to 233 Albion Road. Miss Beck entertained us warmly. We were due at home at 8 pm.

17th October 1898, Monday.

Attended all the Lectures. I am pretty well up in health, but still cough won't leave me. It is a pity.

29th October 1898 - 30 May 1899.

It is a pity that I have neglected the duty which I undertook to perform conscientiously. I have lost a good opportunity of recording the development of a psychological faculty and I might have deduced a useful lesson for the future.

What I was so afraid of, thanks, God, I got over without any insurmountable difficulty. I have tested myself and found me strong that is something to compliment myself upon.

I have passed about 7 months without recording what took place therein. Education - it was a tough job. I have done my best and achieved a good deal - in a word I am not disappointed.

Health - Had a cold in the beginning of January but got over it soon enough. Afterwards I was poorly during the last week of February. Just about the middle of May I got a cold and was almost confined to bed. Mrs. Hyams attended to me most kindly. Got better and am improving.

During Christmas week came to Bournemouth with Mr. & Mrs. Hyams. Somehow or other I was in low spirits and could not get much pleasure out of it. Was introduced to Hilliers who invited me to a children's party - enjoyed it very much. In February received a rug, Indian clothes and some wood work and dry fruits.

Saw some places of note in London with Miss Emma and Mrs. Hyams - e.g. Bornum Show, National Gallery, Museum etc. Went to see Robespierre and to one or two concerts.

29th May 1899, Sunday.

Yesterday I came to Bournemouth for a fortnight and after a lot of loitering about finally decided to take my rest in the Silver Show Boarding House, West Cliff Garden. Went to see Hilliers and had a walk and a long talk with Mrs. Hilliers, went with her and Gordie to St. Stephen's church.

30th May 1899, Monday.

Received Indian letters and a note from Mrs. Hyams. I am sorry I have not had a single line from my father. Perhaps he has been to see the new land again.

1. One was from Mian Ghulam Farid about Said's expenses; 2. Another from Mian Pir Baksh about general health and education; 3. Another from Pir Taj Din who intends to come here and wants particulars; 4. From

Ghulam Bhik (now Ghulam Mohayud Din) who has stood 4th in the B.A.; 5. From Mir Akram who has succeeded and wants a book.

In the morning I went out and read some G.M.A. and some Sanderson too. Wrote two letters one to Mrs. Hyams and another to Miss Emma.

Had a short ride with Gordie whose mother has gone somewhere on business and could not accompany me.

Yesterday I made a very good impression on the fellow boarder, but now they want me to keep them company. It is a difficult job. Who could have patience to talk and talk to half a dozen of old women. I cannot do it. I came to Bournemouth for pleasure and not to put my patience to trial.

It was lovely on sea-shore. Ladies falling themselves down on the sand showed a good sight. But I have marked one thing and that is that there is a majority of ugly intolerable women. Pretty ones, of course, are in scarcity, but the pity is that even tolerable ones are wanting.

Undated

It is not without much interest that we pursue the vast and varied book of nature. A thorough scholar of this infinite science, during the moments of his enjoyment bears direct resemblance to a perfect idiot - now he is serious, dark clouds of sorrow cross and darken the glow of his extensive thoughtful forehead, now he smiles and even laughs, sometimes ironically. He sees providence and he finds improvidence. The motley jumble of creation in the macrocosm is as varied and as interesting as its miniature painting on the sensitive corners of the human mind, the snap shot photos bear a remarkable resemblance to the reality. Even the same applies to other institutions. Beginning with the individual mind we find the same truth in the ever increasing circuit of family, society, state and finally the universe.

It is most surprising how two children born of the same parents, bred under almost the very same circumstances bear such a remarkable contrast to each other, it seems as if they belong to two totally different schools, they have nothing in common. Occasionally one takes just after the father and another just after the mother. I am led to doubt the effect of education. Two persons brought together by some trick of nature, have lived together constantly for several decades, and let us suppose, lived a good harmonious life too. Still in their disposition, feeling, thought, in fact everything they are remarkably contrasted; if one is irritable, the other is patient, if one jovial the other serious. Perhaps it is on the basis of utility that it can be defended, they supplement each other. The artistic side of this composition is not without its merit. There is hardly any more expressive and illustrative form of art than contrast. Now their children - one of them although under the joint influence of both of the parents, unconsciously repulses the influence of one of them, while takes in all from the other. Two girls, who are supposed to be as like as peas, grow up to be as dissimilar as anything. So far as home-life is concerned, this artistic creation of Providence is by no means admirable, but in totality we cannot but revere this all comprehending act which is open to human criticism only in its certain aspects. Children grow up in the same home - one is affable, wordy, subordinating any principle to present peace, practical, with manners adaptable to necessary forms of life - such a character wins admiration, perhaps deservedly. Sympathy there is in abundance and its expression is ready and perhaps sincere, but being ready it cannot be very lasting. There is another, more self-sacrificing and more beneficent, deeper, sincere, true to truth but truth alone, preferring principle to expediency (it does not pay in this world) seeing too much of hypocrisy in the environment to put its confidence in others, sympathising deeply and with few of course, the ignorant mass call them unsympathetic, they whither away neglected

because few understand them, they neglect others because they have nothing in common with them. They are not quite suited to their environment. Same feeling they have, they stick to it most obstinately, it gives them pain, but then they have known no pleasure and if ever did, it now lies in the limbo of forgetfulness, they plod on their weary way, they live on being too busy, they fall down because of the leisure moments. They resemble those who have given their own consent to be imprisoned because they did not know what to do outside in the wide world. It is their fault and yet they extract a deep sympathetic sigh from me. The first pattern they suffer the crosses of lie and perhaps more than the second class, they resent them bitterly and wreathe from the shocking pains of the suffering and still they are happy because they have been so sorry - they have opened their heart.

5 June 1899.

A new female character I have studied but lately. It is marvelous how innocence almost childlike can co-exist with all the worries and most trifling cares of this world. There are some who are almost engrossed by the 'little jokes' of this life, apparently they seem to be the most degraded in the sentimental language of those who frequent the higher spheres of thought. Still some accident might disclose to the keen observer that there is one side of their mind which was totally neglected. Such very varied are the human capacities that it is very difficult to master another mind in it totality.

A very interesting event occurred today. I went today with Mrs. Hilliers to Swanage. The trip was very nice, we were thoroughly enjoying, when she discovered to her greatest embarrassment that she has lost her bracelet. It was a treat to study her then. The bracelet was given to her as her birthday present by her husband and the very first words which broke out from her lips were 'what will he

think - he will say I have been so very neglectful of his present and did not appreciate it.' That expression, that involuntary exclamation, I will never forget. That artlessness defied the best of the artists. I only wished I could find it for her. Her pure innocent fears, her childlike misgiving and thousands of anxieties opened to me quite a new aspect of her character, an aspect I thoroughly appreciated. It was so pure, so innocent, so artless, all the very qualifications, which are becoming scarce everyday with the progress of civilisation. More than once before I have noticed that although living and moving in the world, still there is something very natural about her. When talking of religion etc. she almost shudderingly said - I am afraid I am not very religious; there was no prejudice about it, she did not suspect that there was any thing wrong about religion or that it was of no consequence and necessity; and still confidence in her moral life, she could not persuade herself to believe that it was quite sufficient for any human being.

Had I let her go back to her home without a bracelet, I would have been thoroughly miserable for many days, I could not have forgiven myself.

Undated

The Boarding House. The peculiar features of English Boarding House Life are as if it were a soothing of the 'harsh points in English life. It is more oriental. Members of the both sex whom chance brings together in the same Boarding House solicit each other's acquaintance and try to be very social with the utilitarian motive of passing pleasant time. I do not blame them - it is good, it is useful. But all the human minds are not adapted to this mode of life. It seems to be such an infringement of the most sacred individual liberty to begin conversation without disclosing your personality and knowing not who your addressee is - oh it is shocking yet very useful.

With my independent rather retired mind, it was to be expected that I would make a bad boarder. But I can still rescue my fair name. It is a pleasure to me and occasionally a necessity to resign my dignity, my high ideals, my high circle and to divest myself of every higher trait of life and then I can mix with them and laugh at them and still they enjoy it. It is a very great pleasure to enjoy the frailties of human nature. There is such a motley gathering of the human mind in these Boarding Houses that when once you lower your level, you can change it in that sphere very easily and every one finds me such a nice companion, such an enjoyable fellow; Oh I am afraid I will begin to take too high a view of myself.

The affluence and abundance that characterised the lucky reign of a lucky queen, who ascended the throne when in her teens and with her age the nation went on progressing and within half a century it reached if not to just about the zenith of national supremacy. It was half a century and the most wonderful of those which have been recorded in the pages of the history of our world. Under this beneficent government lived.......

Ah, how weak is human nature. Even me, that proud me, is unable to carry out the self-inflicted duty. The fickleness of memory is proverbial. Reasons and objects are dearest and nearest to our hearts, whose thoughts once filled the whole expanse of our mind fade away. The moments of intense passion flit away on airy wings and leave the subject prostrate to look back with glowing cheek or tender sighs upon the past follies or mistakes.

Ideas of importance and conceptions of great weight dawn upon the pensive mind and being neglected fade away. The useless cry of quick thy tablets, Memory avails but little; we forget because we must — nothing can subsist too long.

However, let me make the best of my memory and trust such of the things I can to the more trustworthy treasurer - paper.

Beauty ! yes - A B C are very pretty, yes and D is charming, oh but not the grace of E - So on the social Mrs. quibbles on in the cosy drawing room. I have known people madly in love, with the most odious persons - and what is rare to experience - neither physically beautiful nor morally admirable and nor gifted with any intellectual superiority nor with riches - and still the idiot dotes upon her and considers her the only venice upon earth. Love is blind said the old Willy - poor boy, he was not far wrong considering his mother-aged wife had been his charmer and perhaps too soon made him a father. A still more remarkable thing occurs in human life - you see a person of considerable physical and moral beauty, affectionate and even loving and still, the irony of fate, the human heart won't incline that way.Even worse - having once adored the same, considered her very pretty and pure, all fondness flies away in spite of the object of affection remaining as pure and moral as ever. Reason fails to satisfy us on this point and ordinary experiences bring face to face with undeniable facts. Have months, weeks and even days lessened the glow of blooming cheeks or the ensnaring looks, or the charming eyes - do things change so soon - no, when thinking not feeling, the ravages of time have not laid waste any portion of the prosperous personage. Then why. It is but a whim of the mind and why should it not be overridden. People should try to render their senses superior to their fancies. Efforts should be made to get rid of the morbid humours which disturb balance of soul.

It is all very well to talk of western civilisation embodied in their mode of contracting marriages. However, if you begin to think of it, it is as bad as any. Roughly speaking, in the middle classes marriages are of two kinds - firstly-wise and democratic, secondly unwise

and foolish. The latter, they say, should not be contracted and encouraged. But why? Becasue these are rash and the man in his first heat does not know what he is about, i.e. he is blind in love. They marry and bent upon being the happiest couple alive - and soon it turns out that they are anything but happy. The former sort, they calculate and then marry, they say the love is lasting. Yes, because there was never any love in the whole affair. Money and title are the only objects and the pretty girls are generally inclined to accept and even angle for rich ugly husbands, then they will leave 'Society', the complex conception, which in higher circles conveys mysterious things. Again, marriages in advanced ages presume that she had made the most of her time during the period of her maidenhood; in fact enjoyed life, while marriage on the contrary means more sober and more restricted life. A girl is supposed to have a social claim, a right, which must not be denied to her, and thus the period between her attaining maturity and getting married is the most enjoyable period of her life in more respects than many, and when she is married - she is supposed to give up her universal smiles, and on the whole lapse into a dull sphere of housekeeping and invariably seeing the face of the same man every morning, it gets too monotonous and mid-day time tends to become enjoyable as affording varied experience and afternoon visitation is her only solace, where movement in higher circles and frequent balls were denied.

In the East, it is just the reverse. A girl is supposed to wear her hair in such a way that she need not look especially attractive; she is not supposeed to loiter about, though when married she gets more licence to do so. She is not to adorn herself or put her beauty to its best advantage - no, all this is deferred till marriage. During maidenhood she is simplicity personified - she is unconventional, pure and simple. To be attractive is not within her objects, on the contrary, she would conceal her pretty looks lest

she becomes the object of rude staring. An English girl, on the contrary, would do her best to show off her hair, arms and ankles.

Amidst all this vanity and frigidity of manner, by contrast, my mind runs back to that primitive land of hills and mountains which are not yet so corrupt and debased as the lowlands of India. In those strong holds of nature live those simple but charmimg and natural people who act because they feel.

A truant boy, I remember full well, how I used to shake off any superiority of descent or title, and play with those simple minded peasant boys and girls. Even when grown in years, their poor cottages used to be my frequent resorts - their simple hospitality used to be most acceptable to me, and many charming girls unaware of their beauty fed me and tended me as their most pleasant guest. Even at the distance of such wide space and long time, I feel surprised how in breach of all etiquette and refined manner and conventions, I used to leave my home and go in these dirty made to my father of my extraordinary habits, but he did not appear to care about it. Perhaps he divined my nature - some how I was an exception to the general rule. Boys were never allowed to leave their homes without a servant to accompany them, even when going to their school - but no such restraint was imposed upon me. In the society of Elders I was the most well-behaving when it suited me. But when a child, I was the most licentious fellow with all who loved me, the most curious, sharp and observant even to fault. Later, I seem to have led a double life - one in my own circle, another in the freedom of nature where my soul breathed free, unrestricted and unrestrained with pretty admirers around. Still later, I now think, this trait had been fatal to my votaries. Caution myself to fault and superstitious, I have not been able to inspire the same care and caution in others. My careless habits, my disregard of conventionalities and over frankness have been unfortunately inspiring several with devotion and I am sorry to say more than devotion which I did not or could not return. Why should they have passed

beyond the limits of admiration - I do not see. I have known it to be so; and its only counteraction is utter disregard however unmeant it may be. If my wild careless manners, which I believe are in part responsible for it, I cannot resorts. I remember distinctly mention being made to my father of my extraordinary habits, but he did not appear to care about it. Perhaps he divined my nature - some how I was an exception to the general rule. Boys were never allowed to leave their homes without a servant to accompany them, even when going to their school - but no such restraint was imposed upon me. In the society of Elders I was the most well-behaving when it suited me. But when a child, I was the most licentious fellow with all most curious, sharp and observant even to fault. Later, I seem to have led a double life - one in my own circle, was the most licentious fellow with all who loved me, the most curious, sharp and observant even to fault. Later, I seem to have led a double life - one in my own circle, another in the freedom of nature where my soul breathed free, unrestricted and unrestrained with pretty admirers around. Still later, I now think, this trait had been fatal to my votaries. Caution myself to fault and superstitious, I have not been able to inspire the same care and caution in others. My careless habits, my disregard of conventionalities and over-frankness have been unfortunately inspiring several with devotion and I am sorry to say more than devotion which I did not or could not return. Why should they have passed beyond the limits of admiration - I do not see. I have known it to be so; and its only counteraction is utter disregard however unmeant it may who loved me, the most curious, sharp and observant even to fault. Later, I seem to have led a double life - one in my own circle, was the most licentious fellow with all who loved me, the most curious, sharp and observant even to fault. Later, I seem to have led a double life - one in my own circle, another in the freedom of nature whère my soul breathed free, unrestricted and unrestrained with pretty admirers

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Oh mother you should forgive!

For such a nice young man is he

His winning ways and charming looks,

Confess - endeared him to me.

What I have known you scarcely know,

and you will fall in love with him

I tell you this a lucky thing

To be a spouse to such as him.

His graceful mien, his stature tall

His youth and his so great renown

A maid and such a lover had
We shall be the talk of the town.
Blessed the day when we are joined
And gone together to the East
Elephants I'll ride — queen of my love
The people will make such a merry feast.
True; he has got a wife beside —
But that's for change else he's so good
That for the future marriages
Over them I shall not yet brood.
And when I see him all forget
But to adore him and to win
His love — Ay to be with him —
I don't care for colour of the skin.
Love's glow brightens that figure pure
to celestial pursuit
Mother you will forgive me
for giving up for old.

25th August 1900.

Little less than two years have I spent in a most unsparing hard work. I have denied all comforts, disregarded rest, shunned society, neglected health, dress and everything -- what for -- simply for my insatiable thirst for knowledge and to afford pleasure to dear father and those interested in me. My first year I had spent at Wren's. There the treasures of un-spanable knowledge were opened before my eyes -- the glow of which dimmed my eyes. The insignificance of my poor stock of knowledge came home to me -- I knew nothing. But I leant something more -- more worth knowing and still least necessary for the peace of mind of an Indian slave especially if he has tender feel-

ings. I learnt what independent nations call "Liberty" and understood, yes even understood the distinction between Freedom and Slavery. When attending lectures on History and Politics, I felt the perspiration of shame trickling down my forehead. Alas, the shame was irremovable, irremediable the disease and irreparable the loss.

What did I want? Endowed with more than average intellectual capacities and ennobled with more than averagely noble blood and descent, not lacking moral upright and practice, nor standing in want of tolerable symmetry of physique -- am I an inferior simply because I am not English born? Am I to be a slave because I am an Indian? Little though I find admirable in the Indian life or morals, still I am not ashamed of the land. Inseparably connected with it I am, I cannot disavow the bonds of over two or three thousand years, which connect me with the land.

During the days of territorial sovereignty, there was no united India, nor ever there will be any unless it is under the sway of a ruler, a foreign militant ruler. But in that independence, that sovereignty of the Rajas there was social bliss, moral purity, and religious candour. What was wanted? Only a political tie to keep these independent Rajas together - a federal union, In short federalism was the cure, but bad luck and corruption could scarcely face the marauding bands which poured into India from the North Western Frontier. (More of it in future).

To return, emitted my feelings are, poisoned my peace of conscience for ever. Cry I cannot and quiet I should be not. Cursed be the moral fibre of the hungry dogs who would crouch under the lash and fondle with the hands which administer poison to their political life.

What are my prospects ?

I have failed in securing a pass in the Indian Civil Service and the alternative of the Bar seems to me one

which I will have to undertake. And what is in the Bar? No freedom, no liberty. I will have to humour the men in the chairs, knowing all the time how unworthy they are of the seats they are occupying. The people - they will not understand me or will scarcely deign to understand me. In their innermost heart the slow murmur might arise, 'he says the truth', but it will be hemmed in by the ferocity of the watch and ward that is kept. In this two years' work I have acquired much, my thoughts have become broader and deeper, my intellect improved though memory impaired. I have got an insight into modern politics and into the political right and wrong, political diseases and cures - but knowledge is not power, if I am powerless. Shall I unburden my heart before the crowds which will have no sympathy with me?

Destined by Fortune to have no private bliss, the happiness of a public life is a still more unattainable object. Still I must wend my way back to India. I owe a duty to my family. I must relieve my father of the heavy burden of a large family. That will be my pleasure; I wish he will have a long life and my delight will be to secure him comfort, to bring up my brother and sisters, to see them start well in life - and then my duty to my family is done. If the thunderbolt of death strikes me at such a juncture when I have passed through two score of years, I will not die an unhappy life.

The higher object of a public life, of striving and struggling for what does not appear to be even possible, no ray of hope can ever penetrate the gloom of my thoughts in this department, Hobbes's theory is the most accurate description of what has happened.

In fact, my individual prospects are by no means pleasant. To have a good practice is a matter of luck more than anything else. I might succeed fairly well, but I do not feel interested in it. I have to lower myself to its level - it is demeaning.

10th October 1900.

The result of the Indian Civil Service was out and I was not on the list. I was not disappointed, because I was never sanguine of success. But the result, I must say it in all fairness did disappoint me. I never believed in exams and never will in future. In Arabic I got 46, while in my first year I got 224 and in English Composition also I have got less marks, while in others I have got more marks than I did last time. I deserved more. In my May's I got 1st division in Political Economy while in the Indian Civil Service I score some 80 marks.

However that which is done cannot be undone. I was in Folkstone when the result was out; and I am pleased to think that I was in a very jolly company and that the disappointment of the exam did not affect me in the least. I had tennis to occupy the physical energies and pleasant company to occupy my thoughts. A certain Miss Stringer with her mother was a jovial bright girl, with her arm in the sling, wearing a pleasant expression and indulging in contagious fits of laughter. Obstinate to a fault, I liked her all the better for it. A spoiled child like myself, and endowed with a wayward loose fancy and keen but uncultured wit, she was an interesting object of study to me.

There was another Miss Markham - a tall refined and rather graceful girl, delicate looking and with an expression rather pathetic than pleasant. She gave me an idea of being very interesting - as one who has had a romance in her life. She appeared to me as one who has bestowed her affections where they are supposed to go - a martyr to duty and a victim of outrageous fate. As such I felt a strange sympathy for this girl.

In strange contrast to these two who helped me in passing my holidays in total forgetfulness of the disappointment of my exam, there were others and chiefly one

who was conspicuous by her aquiline nose, prominent eyes and an altogether pleasant face. She was a curious example of disappointed maidenhood, attempting to hold fast to any straw of a young man that might fall in her clutches. With a monotonous sleepy voice she was humiliation personified.

11th October 1900.

My plans, after the exam result was out, were not very difficult to make. My first care was to be careless, in that I succeeded during my stay at Folkstone. Next there is the light work of the oriental languages Tripos before me and the hard work of Law - I must do these both to my credit; and do a great amount of speechifying in order to become a lecturer. I will start with the Christ College Debating Society, and during the Lent or Easter speak in the Union. I might join the Indian Majlis also. As for Law, I must be able to pass the Bar final in March 1901 and take my Degree in June and leave for home in July.

It is a pity that I cannot appear in the second part of the Law Tripos and so cannot become B.A LL.B.

12th October 1900, Friday.

I went to Lord the great photographer. By Jove, he has put up his prices about 60 p.c. In the Easter Term he charged me 6/6 for a doz. of cards, while now the girl at the counter solemnly declared that 10/6 are the charges. It is dear if you please, hope he will turn out good work. I told him I wanted to become a photographer myself and asked for the best way to proceed towards the requirements of this great art. He said that there was nothing like practice and what the books will give in days and hours, could be acquired in a few minutes by taking private lessons; and he took me to the dark room and developed several negatives and showed them to me.

As for the best set, he said it would cost pound 20,

that inferior sets cannot bear the wear and tear of a long journey to India especially the inclemencies of the Indian climate. But as it is pound 20 for Photography is more than I can afford and I suppose he will require another ten for himself. To spend pound 30 at the off chance of becoming smatterer I cannot do. I will limit myself to pound 10 inclusive and would like the Magic Lantern into the bargain. So I shall look out for a less costly man.

I asked him if it was necessary for a good photographer to be good at drawing. He thought that the two were two distinct arts and that one did not have much to do with the other. Developing negatives was the chief thing, he said.

I will think over it and think twice before I begin.

13th October 1900, Saturday.

I have been thinking of joining the Cambridge University Rifle Volunteers (C.U.R.V.). My objects are --

1. It will occupy a good deal of my time, will serve as good exercise and a good amusement;
2. To be a soldier is a good qualification and shooting is a necessary art;
3. It will enable me to keep it up in the Punjab; and
4. It is a military distinction to a practising barrister in the frontier.

The cost is not much - pound 3-3-0. But the question is will they admit an Indian? They refused to admit Abdur Rahim and why should they take me. Capt Lee sent me a prospectus of C.U.R.V.; and Sgt Leak of Christ's lives in the same house with me. This is some chance, but then he has neglected to write to me in reply to my note which I sent to him last night.

If I am admitted and put in a year's drilling and

shooting before the 1st of Nov, why I will have done two years soldiering before I leave Cambridge and will have won my "Efficiency"; and then for two years I can drill and practice at Peshawar and send in a report from some Capt. of a British Regiment to my officers in Cambridge, and might eventually become Sgt. Husain - hurrah. But certainly Capt. Husain or General Husain will suit much better. On the other hand, there is a Bar exam. waiting for me. Civil Procedure, I know very little; and three or four questions at least from it. I wish I could get through this time, otherwise I will have to work very hard to go back in June and what is worse, will not be able to do justice to myself in my Tripos exam. Still we must not brood over misfortunes beforehand.

19th October 1900, Friday.

I went to London for my Bar Exam in Crime. Law. I have done fairly well and hope to get through. Then I intend to prepare Roman Law and the final, and wish to get rid of all this by the end of March. How happy then I shall be — April or May and then the Tripos and then good-bye to my days of studentship.

Mr. & Mrs. Hyams were the kind hosts and made me very comfortable.

I saw Harnam Das too. He is very busy of' course — a fashionable gentleman, his cards full of invitations. He has not yet appeared in any Law Exam — he has done no real reading in law during the whole of the last year. He used to say that Gyan Singh should have finished the Bar first and then enjoyed himself. But to me it appears that it is easier to preach than to practice.

Now I appear to be well-nigh settled — 3 lectures a week in Persian, and the same number in Arabic, while there are eleven in Law. I am sure to get up the paper of Real and Personal Property & Conveyancing, and Contract & Tort. There remains Common Law & Equity the terms of

whose significance I am as yet unaware; and I will leave Equity and Common Law for the Vac. and revision for the second term.

I have made up my mind to pursue the Magazine study together with Debates etc. I will begin to speak in the College Debates and the Indian Majlis and wait till I find myself ready to speak in the Union. I must read up books on Arabic and Islam — they are useful; and my knowledge of Arabic Literature is yet very limited.

Today I have been rather extravagant. I bought a pair of boots for 22/6 and ordered a winter suit for 3/17/6 and bought Varsity and College blues for 5/6 and some frames for 3/- Isn't it terrible?

Lord the photographer sent the proofs, but as they did not meet with my approval, he quite good naturally took me again in two positions and promised to send the proofs to me. If these turn out to be a success I might order 2 dozens for 18 sh. I suppose, the second dozen costing 7/6.

21st October 1900, Sunday.

This evening I attended the Indian Majlis. It was not rowdy as the one I attended yesterday.

On Saturday evening there were College elections — and a Liberal candidate quite contrary to my expectations actually won, though the success was not overwhelming. I was positive that the Conservative candidate would win, I suppose he himself depended too much on his popularity. He had cheers and marks of approval; but the Liberal one made a fair speech, was hissed too often but when it came to votes won signally. There was one thing very remarkable i.e. continual references to telegrams. The Liberal candidate received three telegrams, fictitious of course — one from Rosebery,[19] another from Balfour,[20] and a third from

Campbell-Bannerman,[21] all purporting to mean that he should fight to the bitter end.

The Liberal candidate in his speech referred to the large number of Indians at Christ's, saying that the Liberal College admitted them as students and that in the Liberal Govt., all nationalities, all colours and all languages will be admitted.

This evening, in the Indian Majlis there were elections and then an impromptu debate took place, which was not up to much.

Yesterday the Master asked me to come and have a talk with him and so I did.

Michaelmas Vac. — December 1900.

A week's hard work at Cambridge for the Roman Law Bar Exam brought me to a fair preparation, and I was in for it. I did my written papers fairly well, but the oral was not satisfactory. I answered two questions very well, but could not answer the third at all. The Examiner was obliging enough to ask me another so as to put me in a good class. I could not answer even that. I was awfully upset and cross with myself for my pride was wounded. I wished he had never given me the second chance and I involuntarily uttered, Pity, he said — it will be all right.

In London, I stayed for a few days, had a lot of fun. London was as usual very busy and very unsatisfactory to me. Sent a few cards off; and sent to J.B. Lyall the College Magazine which contained my article on Hafiz. Sent cards here and there and settled it all.

The vacations I meant to pass partly at a country place and partly in London. I chose Lawton Hall and on Thursday went to it from Euston.

The L & N.W.R. train is a fairly good one; and Crewe appears to be a busy station and I am told is the most

important Railway Station for it is here that engines are repaired. The idea given to me by the station is that Cheshire can claim beauties. Ladies in general appeared to have nice features and bright eyes looking cheerful.

Lawton Hall is an antique palace built at different times, and thereto is attached a large park. The severity of time has told upon the family. The once prosperous family is no longer a prosperous one; the Lord of Lawton Hall is a clerk in London. The final curse of the down-fall is the love of liquor which characterised the last landlord. The disciple of Bacchus drank his property through and died drunk.

The Hall is a big building, with great Halls, Dining and Drawing rooms. It contains very good portraits of Charles II and others. A nice lake presents itself when we are in the Drawing room. The rooms are immense; and the place is at present damp because it has not been inhabited for a considerable time. There is a splendid walk through the Park. It is proud of several very nice long trees. The whole effect is antique, country like, high class, soothing and also elevating.

I. THE COUNTRY

Cheshire

1. Lawton — an unassuming village with nothing particularly interesting about it excepting the Lawton Hall of the Lawton family. There is a big park, well adorned with tall trees, a fair sized lake, a big massive building, half antique, half modern, with a mediaeval air about it. The Estate is provided with all the necessary outhouses, hothouses, lodges, stables, etc, and if some rich country gentleman, who has a large family, takes the estate, he can make it a most enjoyable residence. I for one, would like it very much. For me it is an ideal place, quiet and still luxurious; and what is more, could be endowed with all the

latest sanitary inventions and necessary conveniences. It is big enough to occupy the attention of the family people who could roam in it joyfully.

As for the shops and streets, I found none; but the country about is green, water seems not to be scarce and people as a whole obliging and if not prosperous are certainly not stricken with poverty..

2. Mow Cop — It is a delightful village situated on the top of a hill, and necessarily bracing; and could claim a fairly good street and nice shops. It has a velvet manufactory and that employs 70 girls of 17 to 23 years of age; and in consequence the village is prosperous. The poor seem to have large families, many babies, but it appears to me that they die of. In one family there were 14 members and within a short time 6 were lost. Their housing arrangement is not satisfactory, the accommodation is inadequate, and though there are plenty of windows, cleanliness is lacking.

' Young people at large appear to be in manufactories; dairy farming is rare and they appear to me to depend on wages; while the wife takes care of the children and does something in the line of cocks and hens.

Just on the top of the hill there is The Mow Cop castle, it is about two centuries old and is almost tumbling; close to it is The Old Man of Mow Cop. This is best place to see the counties spreading around us. Cheshire lies before us, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, etc. can be seen. There is the boundary also. The bleak breeze is bracing and the scenery is interesting; and the people obliging. Almost all the children have golden hair and blue eyes and look very nice, though rosy cheeks so often associated with the country are frequently missing.

3. Alsager — is a fair sized village, claiming several very nice shops; and several villages come to it to be supplied with their necessaries, an attractive church and a school, and a library give it the air of a village-town especially

printing could be done there. The place appears to be very interesting.

4. Sandbach — The Stringers — At Lawton Hall I discovered myself to be at a short distance from the Stringers — mother and daughter — whom I chanced to meet at Richmond House, Folkstone; and who appeared to me a decent people and were in consequence frequently with me during my stay there. The girl (Miss Stringer) was bright, cheerful and vivacious and as she had a bad arm in the sling, was very interesting. A spoiled child and strong-willed, she was kind enough to give way to my phantasies, or to over-rule them and it was the latter characteristic that won my admiration. We were soon on intimate terms. In short, I sent them a X-mas card and was invited to tea. In an awful weather I cycled thither; and got there safely in spite of a side-slip. There I saw Miss Stringer, her arm was not in the sling and I would not have liked it to be in the sling and yet she did not look as interesting as she was — the charm was gone.

I was there introduced to three girls — one was from London, rather nice looking; another from about Sandbach — Miss Carey Williamson. She was very fascinating. She had just won a match of hockey and was the acting Secretary of her club and was arranging for a dance to be given in Sandbach. She talked her schemes over with great volubility and showing considerable power of thought and management. Her mode of conversation, expression, relation of eyes and movement of limbs was all calculated to put her to her best advantage.

The third was Gladys — she was rather reticent, but talked sense when she did talk at all. When the last two were off, the drawing room scandal began. Miss Stringer thought Carey was not at all firm and far from nice looking, though fascinating; her London friend was ready to endorse the opinion, but could not say that Gladys was

nice looking. My opinion was duly called for, but the question was most carefully evaded by me. It throws some light upon the way in which village people manage to spend their days. The middle class boys and girls have their interests centered in Hockey club or golf parties etc, and in winter plenty of dances and concerts are got up to pass the weary and dismal days.

I was introduced to Mr. Stringer. He appeared to me to be a practical sort of man. He said he was the President of the Dairy Farming in the village; and that he managed the estate of several estate holders and had a little of his own. We had an interesting talk on farming. He held that farming was fairly well paying; and that if one farm were to be let, there were crowds of applications for it. True there were farmers and farmers. The ideal farmer, whether a big one or a small one, was one who worked hard, got up at 4 and had breakfast at 5. Such were prosperous. The bad ones were not rare. They neglected their work, came to Market and got drunk and were extremely imprudent — will come to the Pub, leave the reins of the horse in the hand of an urchin and give him 2nd and go in; the chap will let the horse go and slip away. The farmer coming out drunk will run after the horse (how like the Indian Chaudhry). He said that the farmers were a discontented lot; and that they did fairly well here. Dairy and farming was a success and a farmer who had a good wife who could make cheese was bound to prosper. The farmers should not keep behind their times — they should employ machinery.

The old fellow was very kind to me, came out with me and walked with me for several minutes, and then bade me good-bye.

I presented a silk handkerchief to Mrs. Stringer and she thanked me very much, and gave a general invitation to come any time I liked.

The Party at Lawton Hall

I had come with the fixed purpose of studying various grades of country folks and especially the middle class. In this I was disappointed to a certain extent. Generally speaking, London and Manchester appeared to monopolise the establishment; still I had a fair chance of studying human nature and I did it with a fair amount of success.

Mr. Southern — was a freeman of some council and in him the beauties and defects of his class were fully developed. He had a love for imposing himself on and above others. He talked with some humour, but as he tried to talk too much, it tended to become boring. His daughter was a nice looking girl, not fond of decorating herself and tending towards simplicity bordering upon studied carelessness which lends an enchantment to the personality of a young person.

There was another interesting family of Rennicks — Builders. The paterfamilias was very well educated for his profession, was quite nice and in fact more than nice for his profession. His children were fairly good, but gave out signs of low breeding frequently enough to pass unnoticed.

Miss Young and Miss Charlotte were nice, considerate and kind. We had a mutual admiration for one another's qualifications, and a beneficent inclination to forgive one another's faults.

Mr. Noor (farmer) was quite gentlemanly, well-informed and full of good ideas for his station in life. He was rather interesting, but then he had a love for imposing himself upon others.

Mr. Noor (businessman) looks quite a nice-looking, amiable, gentlemanly person, well behaved for his station in life.

Miss Noor was rather queer. She appeared to be rather fond of society of the male sex; and did not appear to have any character in her — an unformed character and an unformed mind, with fully developed feminine weaknesses.

Miss Berling was a graceful nice looking lady-like person with a splendid figure, a nice head of hair and large blue eyes. She was a sample of lovers of society, rather careless in the due observance of rules of good breeding. Her Parisian friend's effect was duly noticeable in this.

X-mas Dance

One of the chief requisites of a successful X-mas holiday is a Dance, and it was duly held here where different strata of society were jumbled together and that is one of the things I love to look at. The difference of grades was distinctly noticeable and on one particular occasion, a solicitor's daughter was heard to rebuke a builder's daughter for touching her. Again there were others who kept clean of others, lest they get polluted.

It appeared to be on the whole democratic, with little, yes very little element of feeling. They danced because they had to dance and not because with every step their heart beat high. There was a frigidity, a feelinglessness which could not be explained. The sweet nothings so often talked of in the romantic descriptions are now absolutely useless. The girls know they are nothing; and the vicious habit of paying compliments sets sincere admiration at a great loss. Where convention reigns supreme, where speech is modelled on the pattern of strict etiquette, where feeling is stifled, where sincerity is left in the lurch, there cannot be much of elevation of spirits. All that is noble in humanity is left where it was and in fact ceases to exist through want of use. The communion of souls akin to each other is not held; and instead of cherishing unanimity

of feeling there is suspicion and distrust that prevails amongst both the sexes.

Such is the sad failure of such social institutions, where a young man or a young girl is constantly required to practice self-sacrifice. What more delightful than a sincere and frank conversation with a nice partner to whom one could speak without the fear of being misconstrued, to talk to one who could understand? But what is the sad reality, instead a young fellow must dance with all, and in some cases not dance with those with whom he would. And a girl must, yes almost must, dance with any young fellow who would force himself upon her — now all this is a self-sacrifice in some form or other.

The third point to be noticed is Dance as social institutions sub-serving the purpose of the chief social institution i.e. matrimony. To bring together young persons of either sex does subserve that purpose, but the frigidity of manner and conventionality of etiquette are rightful abstracts to overcome and leave room for nothing other than infatuation partial or mutual. In either case they result in an unsuccessful form of marriage and in fact during the period of engagement; it is more often than not realised that they are not suited to each other.

In conclusion, Dances are not totally devoid of utility. They subserve but one purpose — to pass the time. Deprived of its higher and nobler aims, this social institution like many more is one way of passing the time. When depression consequent upon the hurry and worry of modern civilization plays upon human mind, a relief is received with a light heart. When the struggle grows severer, what one would not give for a respite from the grim reality. Such is the Philosophy of Dance — it is an attempt to drown weariness amidst the breakers and waves of unreality amidst a mirage — and blessed be those who can forget their sorrows.

X-mas Games

When the inclemency of weather deprives the people of out-door amusements, it is quite necessary that schemes should be devised of passing lengthy evenings of the winter season. To pass a pleasant X-mas it is necessary that young folks should mix together as much as possible. And to achieve this object a number of games are played to kill time and it is successfully done. It seems hardly necessary to mention them all.

Potteries

"Cheshire is the country of Potteries", a feature most characteristic of it. Each drawing room discloses traces of it, Doulton & Wedgewood sell at tremendous rates and would a drawing room be perfect without showing some of either? I went to visit these from Lawton. I wended my way to Kidsgrove and thence to Golden Hill. I had to walk and the uphill walk from Kidsgrove to Golden Hill was tremendous. From Golden Hill, an electric train could carry visitors through almost all the Potteries. The first place of note is Doulton, and then Potteries start with Burslem.

In the Doulton Pottery, remarkable patience is manifested by the work-men who paint. Prices are exorbitant and if Indians artists could be taught, they will be a great success because they are very good at it.

Potteries only show how a part of those who are born under disadvantageous circumstances can be employed in working at articles of luxury, thus making the rich yield a part of their wealth to the poor. It is a self imposed tax on the rich. As for the national aim. I doubt its efficacy; but it certainly is one way of making money change hands.

Small articles like a cup and saucer go for Rs. 10 and an ordinary small Wedgewood jug for about Rs. 15.

Brilliant idea concerning the prospect of national prosperity in England —

There are two main interests which have clashed in the past and which do clash now — the landed interest and the manufactory interest. The former is of great importance and wide-reaching effects. It is farmers that provide us with fighting men; it is farmers who are the life and soul of England or of any other country, while the Manufacturers are but the sustenance of the country. If farmers are the essence, manufacturers are the necessary condition of its prosperity; and the existence of both of them is necessary. Now there is a tendency :

1. For farm-house labourers and poor farmers to go to the Manufactories; and
2. For the Manufactory proprietors to grow richer; and
3. For the farmers to grow poorer and more discontented.

What is the solution?

The two interests should be combined. We cannot dispense with the landed interest, because of its wide-reaching political effects. Let the landed interest take part in the manufactories and then the manufacturing will be conducted on such principles as would not damage the landed interest.

Now to an ambitious foreigner who covets a seat in the House of Commons it is necessary to win the sympathies of either side, and what more efficacious than a scheme to perpetuate for the welfare of the English at large, a system which would put an end to this inter-party dissention and make England united and ready to deal with the grave economic problems before it e.g. Ennoblement of Labour, Relief of the poor; Better Education; More Temperance.

Miss Ellis Gibson

is a nice girl, with youthful spirits, sharp intelligence bright views and cautious though not conscientious behaviour, endowed with a fair amount of physical charm and ready intelligence to pursue the lines of nature, she has an implicit belief in meriting a bright future before her. Tender in years, unused to reverses of fortune, unaware that merit and acquisition do not unfortunately go hand in hand she had no idea of the grim possibilities of the future which make the strongest heart to shiver when contemplating them.

Miss Eddy Gibson

is a serene graceful girl with a tinge of calmness about her, which though it lends a charm to her person, gives an impression of being rather low spirited. She appears to have an equanimity of temper, to suit a cultivated, calm-minded, conservative well to do gentleman. She is one of those whom the reverses of fortune better not touch, for they have no fire in them either to struggle hard or to do some brilliant deed. She evidently possesses warmth of feeling and has an affection which she would give to the man she is encouraged to like. Once sure of him she would love him with all her heart — in fact she possesses in this the general feminine virtues and weaknesses.

Moreton Hall

is an antique building of the 16th century situated some 3 miles from Lawton Hall. Now it is in a dilapidated condition and the rooms where many gentlemen and ladies danced and enjoyed themselves are now almost deserted; and the rest occupied by a Mrs. Dale who has been a widow for the last 30 years, and at that time had 15 children. The owner of the Hall lives in Torquay. The Hall is nicely situated by a small stream, and a large farm is attached to it. It is a nice place to spend a few quiet days in. There is some interesting furniture in it.

Longdale

Mrs. Longdale has been a Beauty once and appears to have kept her self up splendidly. Even now she has a symmetry of features which is all the more prominent on account of a contrast which her daughter presents in that line through the rosy cheeks or a delicious complexion or coral lips, are not to be found, still the outline is there, and the beautiful effect cannot be denied. Still the winning manners have lingered behind; and vanity, the necessary accompaniment of beauty rules supreme, though its sufficient excuse no longer exists. There is a certain haughtiness about her which aggravates those whom she looks down upon. But one can see how easily she could be made to come to her knees by the use of a certain carelessness mixed with a little politeness and glossed over by courtesy. And a few flattering remarks would give a finishing touch to make her the adored in her turn, for faded beauties soon become lovers of their admirers.

Whites & Management of Boarding Establishments & Hotels

Managing faculty is indeed a rare gift and as such merits a good reward. The Manager of a successful Hotel etc. requires varied capabilities — supervision of the servants, studying the comfort of visitors, economising in expenditure and yet pleasing the guests, and all affability to the guests. In fact the manager must not be narrow-minded; and if he is stingy in expending money he is almost sure to fail for the visitors look at it with disgust. In the preparation of Bills he must be very careful, for although he has to face a variety of expenses, still an individual visitor does not care to be over-charged in any way. In fact inclusive terms even if large are less jarring than a paltry extra — extras are a failure.

Another point of great importance which requires an infinite amount of tact on the part of the manager is his

relation to the guest. He must not be reserved, but on the contrary amiable and affable providing for their amusement; nor must he be over familiar, for visitors like to maintain their relationship to each other as on a different standing from the relationship subsisting between them and the Host. He must not be over inquisitive and should study to hear but not to speak except in speaking nothing.

The duties are no doubt cumbrous; but it should not be forgotten that it does not require a great outlay. In fact, credit can do very well; and except for the strain, business capacities are well paid in the line.

Parting

Boarding House or Hostel life is essentially such as to throw the inmates of the Establishment in each other's ways. They have already made up their minds to make friends. Even the morose and the sullen try to put on a pleasant expression, the retired try to be social, saturnine, jovial. But how different is the scene at the parting, all smiles, but nothing substantial in. You may happen to like some, nay even take a fancy to some, but you may never chance to knock up against them. How pathetic. And still those who are accustomed to the life, care not a pin — out of sight, out of mind. They are effaced from our memory as if they never existed. A young girl, whose looks no less than mental accomplishment interested us, and to whose expectations, fears, successes and failures we listened with deep interest, now we resign her to oblivion. The pretty coquette whose honeyed nothings flushed out cheeks, and the frivolous fair to whose uninteresting episodes and provoking bravadoes we listened with the patience of a monument are equally sentenced to everlasting oblivion.

We parted with mutual smiles; a suppressed sigh verging on the borderland of the audible was felt by the one standing next; but generally we resign each other without a sigh, without a groan — but smiles, smiles, ever-

lasting smiles like shadows in the cave, well bear on with conventionalism and civilisation to the day of doom.

Travelling — 8th January 1901.

I dropped at Chester. It is a lovely place. The most ancient town of England, I believe. Shops are something charming — so well adorned, and in such a fascinating style. The cathedral and the walls together with Eaton Hall are the favourite places of visitation of the traveller who can spare but a day for Chester. The general impression left by Chester on my mind is something nice and tasty.

Liverpool

Staying at the North Western Hotel which is the most expensive leading Hotel of the place.

Table d' Hotel Dinner 5/-. Lunch 4/, Breakfast 3/-. In fact .1-1 is the daily bill. the place is of course very comfortable and very nice. Every necessary article is ready, but then you have to pay for it.

After having had my sumptuous dinner, I went for a walk. I went to a Palmist, and she told all the lies imaginable — She did not fail to make a mistake where there was any latitude for making one. But they all appear to agree on one thing — I am ambitious. Well let it be.

And next, I made a mistake, a blunder of which I could not think myself capable. I went to an auction, of course to see how foolishly people were getting entrapped. And what was the result? I bought a watch for 10/6 to make a present to my dear sister. But the watch was a fraud of course. I shan't do it again.

In Liverpool, Wale Street, Pier Head, Green Street, Manchester Street appear to be the most busy streets.

Liverpool Muslims

After a lot of trials and waiting about, I saw Mr. Abdulla Quilliam He is an unassuming sort of man, one whose appearance is not that of an enthusiast or one who

would carry out wholesale changes, or one born to change the state of affairs. There is no fire in him. His appearance is not imposing and majestic. And yet he is the Sheikh ul Islam of the British Isles — What is its secret? In this case it appears to be immense application, perseverance and untiring energy — work and work. This one man is a leading solicitor, a very busy occupation no doubt. He conducts two papers — The Crescent and the Islamic World, attends to the correspondents and delivers lectures now and then, and then finds time to write books and pamphlets. Besides this, he possesses one virtue — common sense. And it is this unique and rare virtue which has secured him his large practice and his prestige.

Does he believe in Islam? Well, we can interpret conduct in various lights. Still it appears to me that we should think of others generously. He does not show the enthusiasm of a convert, and his schemes are plausible but productive of no immediate results. He naturally enough appears to be fond of leadership and of raising his prestige higher. Offices were rather lacking in cleanliness and quite shabby. Two rooms on each floor and he occupied two floors. All were law officers; but go under the name of The Crescent office.

I went to see the mosque at 8, Brougham Terrace. The house was exceedingly dirty. Why tonight is the Debating Society, there was no mosque to be seen. I was ushered into a room called mosque, but there was nothing to show that it was mosque with the exception of framed Kalema and Allah and Muhammad etc.

Then I went to 4 Shiel Road; the house is called Medina House — an orphanage. Fatherless children are taken and brought up as Muslims. But I do not suppose the Medina House maid knew anything of the principles of Islam.

Then I went to see the Printing Press which also was in an awful state of uncleanliness. In the afternoon I had a long chat with Mr. Quilliam. I remarked to him :

1. As to the Crescent — improvement needed.

2. As to the thing as a whole — foreigners expect a great deal from the Liverpool Muslims, in fact more than I have seen. He admitted that the net gain did not appear to be much, but that he had been trying to remove prejudice, and has thus paved the way for the advent of Islam.

3. As to the lack of unity amongst Muslims. He showed his willingness to visit Cambridge if I were to form an association.

10th January 1901, Wednesday.

Went to Fairy Bryn. Saw Mrs.Emma's room. She has taken great pains in adorning it with various articles. Went to Luzone's.

11th January 1901, Thursday.

Went to see St. Paul's. It is a fine place really worth seeing. Then went to see the Abbey, but could see very little of it, because there was a service on.

Actually I got through my Exam — a thing which I did not expect. I am glad of it.

13th January 1901, Saturday.

Went to the Theatre to see The Taming of the Shrew and The Comedy of Mr. & Mrs. Bensan. It is supposed to be a comedy, but I believe Shakespeare cannot interest us. Those things which are light, as all comedies are supposed to be; the enjoyment lies — (1) in the plot; (2) in the jokes etc. The plots of Shakespeare are confessedly not very artistic because he mostly borrowed and to put it generally qua-original. As for humour and fun, his jokes are not

modern jokes and therefore fail to please us. Hence a Shakespeare play fails to refresh us.

Cambridge, 14th January 1901.

Mr. & Mrs. Hyams were kind enough to offer me a release from usual payment for my being with them and they insisted on not taking anything. Now, this is a thing which I can never allow. We must be practical and matter of fact; and if one allows one's self to accept too many kind offices, the result can be nothing less than disappointment in each other afterwards. I tried to persuade them, and we agreed by making mutual concessions.

Attended Bar lectures and saw Bar lecturers. Mr. Fraser thought I could not prepare Bills of Exchange etc. at Cambridge, nor could I understand them without his help. Mr Mcully was not discouraging nor encouraging, he did not like the idea of having no lectures. Mr. Straham was the least offensive of the three; he suggested some books which were not of repulsive dimensions, and said that they were quite enough for all purposes.

On my return I found Cambridge quite the University — even the atmosphere breathes the same thing.

15th January 1901, Tuesday.

Saw Prof. Bevan. He kindly took me to the Varsity Library and tried to find Tennyson's poems. I saw Mr. Harris and arranged with Mr. Higgins twice a week.

18th January 1901, Friday.

Today I had invited 13 people to tea — all Mohammadans; and the object of all this was to found an association of Muslims only and to arrange about Eid. I started in a guarded way and successfully showed to my guests the necessity of such a body, and they were ready to fall in with my views. They appointed me as the Acting Secretary and we started; and then in conjunction with Sheriff and Wahby I was asked to frame rules. I hope the Association will be a success.

19th January 1901, Saturday.

I had a busy time of it. Sawhny and Navalkar were not turning up, so I had to arrange for the Debate and the meeting place, the subject etc. etc. It took such a time and cost me nothing less than 3s.

Went about Restaurants and hope to make the Muslim Association a real success.

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20th January 1901, Sunday.

Dr. Ganesh Parashad proposed Ghorpuri and that required the suspension of Rules. He put the matter so foolishly and dwelt so much upon his brilliant qualifications that all felt disgusted and the motion was lost. As Parashad alluded to intentional fraud in keeping the meeting a secret, I called him to order and called him mean and off he went. Members put on a sardonic smile and if the silly fellow thought too much of his importance he was quite mistaken.

Sheriff was elected Vice President, but I am afraid the poor fellow will not be able to keep order in the House. J.A. Obesekere was elected Secretary. Then the debate began. I moved that:

"It is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all."

My recitations were acceptable to most of the students; and my remarks were much admired. They listened with keen interest and intense admiration. D.R. Sawhny of Trinity was in raptures over my remarks. They though I had most minute knowledge of amorous affairs. I won the motion.

21st January 1901, Monday.

Today I arranged a good deal about the Eid prayers etc. To do such things requires such a long time.

I wrote to Mr. Higins that I was not going to coach with him for it was no use to me. He gave no notes, no question papers, nothing.

22nd January 1901, Tuesday.

Today was the Eid day. Queen's failing health had caused a good deal of anxiety for us, for if she were to die at 12 we could neither get ourselves photographed nor could we hold a dinner. However, prayers came out all right.

There again I was elected President. I framed the rules and did all the work. Hope it will be a success.

23rd January 1901, Wednesday.

Tuesday at 6.30 the queen died at last. "Black ties" that was all the mourning that could be seen; but I carried my black gloves in my hands all the time. I ordered an Extraordinary meeting of the Indian Majlis to be held for the occasion and it was convened in Sheriff's house. Resolutions were passed and I was to send a telegram to King Edward VII expressing deep sympathy and regret. I do not know to whom to send this wire and to what persons.

Here I have achieved the most ambitious place; and if I procure such wonderful success in India, have I not already achieved one of my designs. But in these days I am deuced busy. In fact I have scarcely breathing time left to me. And I can do but little of work.

Oh, the expense here. Went out, bought cakes, sweets 2/9, bought an album 3/6 and other small things 3/-. Just imagine how money rushes away like anything. I must try to control myself. It is really dreadful.

"I Leave England"

Blessed are the days I passed in making preparations. How busy I was? Photography occupied me a good deal. Dinners also engaged my evenings and visitations came into fill the gaps.

I left England — and in England many on whom I could depend on as well disposed, no enemies, a few friends, many acquaintances, hardly any Englishman who would rather be without me. It is a good solace to me that I have occupied my time to the best of my satisfaction under the circumstances; and that I have but seldom done an act which preys upon my mind.

I might have returned an I.C.S. if the favours of fortune had smiled upon me, but what cannot be helped must be borne. With the exception of this lasting wound, I have done nothing for which I have to be sorry. Respectful as I have been, I am acknowledged by all to be respectable.

France

Paris —Hotel Bergere

It was a fine Hotel and one ignorant of the French language could get on there.

Paris, I believe, is a fine town, rather gay looking. Walking along the Boulevards one is led to believe that there is no home life. You will see mostly gentlemen by themselves and occasionally gentlemen with ladies sitting in the Cafes quaffing some liquor or beer, and but seldom refreshing themselves with Ices. Some are talking, others sitting there solemnly — what can all this mean? Have they no homes? What about their children? Have they no thoughts except those of self-enjoyment?

I might have hastened to frame a rather severe opinion, but I was prevented from doing so. I have this time singularly goodluck. Mr. & Mrs. Hyams had introduced me to a relative of theirs — Madame Lebrechet — a pretty little lady. She was my guide during my short stay in Paris. She received me at the Railway Station, conducted me to Hotel Bergere, and came late in the evening to take me for a walk. She is a nice woman — circumspect, well behaving and polite. We had three evenings out and did not return to our respective residences till very late. I saw Jardin de

Paris, The Arch, The Pleasant Garden etc. etc. and then the Louvre and opera etc. etc.

I was informed and I believed rightly, that the Parisian life is no more jovial than the English. There are many Cafes and always full. True, but London is scarcely less full — the apparent difference consists in the Cafes entertaining their visitors outside their building while in England they always remain indoors. ABC shops, Lyons, Slaters, The Cabins and Frascati with the Inns of Court, Avenue, Gaiety, Daly's, Romanos etc, are always full too. In reality there is not more gaiety in Paris than in London.

As for morals — I believe there are closed Houses in Paris and a good number too. In proportion the number of street girls is less than in London streets like the whore's walk or the neighbourhood of Kings' Cross.

As for the opera see The Loose Sheets.

"In the S.S. Caledonia"

I had the good fortune of getting a nice cabin in the fastest P & O steamer all to myself. In Marseilles I passed but one night and having removed the ill effects of my express train journey drove to the dock and was in time to catch the steamer. There I had the ill luck to find five or six Indians to my great disgust — five constituted a band of merchants, one was my fellow Cantab. Those five misbehaving ill-starred men were a continuous torture to the Anglo Indian passengers, and a nuisance to me. The voyage proved conclusively to me that it was impossible to hope for increase in the intimacy between the English and the Indians. Each nation has its own prejudices and traits and characteristic features and looks at those of others with sincere disgust and hatred and not at all feigned or put on. English ladies of good information and education have expressed their truly felt abhorrence at the idea of eating with your fingers. Could they do so even now is an exception not unknown to the Indians abroad in Europe. Not to

go very far, the real English do not try to conceal their abhorrence at the mode of eating prevalent on the Continent especially the way in which tea is taken. Firstly they cannot form good companions — what one party exalts as highly pleasing the other loath as annoying and obnoxious.

The sea was clam and quiet till we approached Aden. It was enjoyable till we reached Port Said whence heat in the Red Sea was simply intolerable. From Aden to Bombay was the worst part of the passage. The Caledonia did role — it has a name for rolling. One evening the rolling was something terrible, actually the waves swept across the deck and those who were sleeping on the deck hurried to catch hold of the seats and could see their beds floating on the deck. I was awfully sick more than once — could eat nothing and was obliged to take soda and brandy. I believe it did some good.

At Bombay I stopped just for a few hours. King, King & Co. Bombay is a good firm, very gentlemanly and efficient — wish the same could be said of their London branch. I was put up at Watson's and I can tell that it is by no means an inexpensive place.

Taking a train from Bombay I started for Peshawar. Reached Pindi where my father and uncle together with the Pindi gentry came to receive me. We had several feasts there. Thence my father and myself proceeded to Peshawar where there was a large gathering to receive me at the Railway Station and a grand reception was at our House.

Then began innumerable feasts and dinners which it would be ludicrous to describe. I might here observe that the one given by Mr. & Mrs. Miran Baksh[22] was the best of the lot.

I had the misfortune to catch fever twice, but it did

not last long.

Admission, Enrollment etc.

Through Mr. Shah Din[23] I applied for admission and supplied him with my fee Rs. 505. After some weeks I had a wire asking me to come immediately to see the Chief Judge (Retd). So I did. The Hon'ble Chief Judge made enquiries about Cambridge, talked of Justice Ameer Ali and Justice Mahmud, then spoke of the new Frontier Province and then dismissed me. He thought I was in Lahore and so he wanted to see me, he was sorry to trouble me so far as to drag me from Peshawar etc. etc.

My certificates came and a note saying that the Honourable Judges consider it highly inadvisable that I should practice in my father's court. It was not unfair, but harsh and annoying if not insulting. I wrote back — I meant to do so, and thanked the Hon'ble Judges for their advice on this point of etiquette. The Registrar did not like this independence of spirit and I believe took exception to it, writing back that the Hon'ble Judges consider it very inadvisable that I should practise at Peshawar where my father is District Judge there. I had to find myself another station. After various considerations my choice fell upon Sialkot.

While at Peshawar I had delivered a Lecture — "A Message from England" which was universally admired. There were some brilliant ideas put in a striking form. They had the desired effect. Sh. Rahim Baksh, M.A., E.A.C. liked it immensely and did not hesitate to say that the propriety and precision of my lecturing was marvellous, that he had not seen anything approaching it except in the lecturing of Moulvi Shah Din. He went so far as to say so to my father.

I was invited to be Vice President of the Anjuman Hamayat Islam, but I hesitated. Later I started Tennis club which I left just midway when I left Peshawar.

At Batala I had a fine reception. Ali Ahmad Khan[24] did a great deal — he gave a feast to the Hindus and Muslims of Batala and was very busy in arranging things for me. All the relatives expressed deep gratification at this.

I came to Sialkot

On the evening of the 29th (September 1901) I reached Sialkot. Sardar Sarwar Khan[24] meeting us at Wazirabad. For a few days I thought it advisable to put up with Altaf Husain.[25]

Silakot is famous for its fine climate. I was told that there are no good legal practitioners here and that a Mohammadan is especially wanted. Sh. Abdul Qadir[27] was of this opinion and I think he was right. Again good many officials here are of my father's acquaintance. But there was one great drawback — the fees are deplorably low. The best practitioner makes only Rs. 500 a month and one can hardly do with less than Rs. 200 a month.

It so chanced that an unsuccessful Barrister is leaving Sialkot, so I secured his house and might buy his carriage etc.

3rd October 1901, Thursday.

A Barrister's Headquarters

The only profession in which one can do as little as possible without any fear of consequences is the Government service. The Bar, on the contrary, offers a field for work where integrity, perseverance, good behaviour, in fact all that is good and noble is called into play. However, the Punjab Bar appears to be an exception to the general rule. Where shall the new Barrister start? Of course, climatic superiority tells in favour of a district; and the geographical site, railway connections, etc. are not negligible items. The next point is the amount of work, the status of the profession, the society and so forth; and lastly the amount of friendship or acquaintance with the people and the officials.

In Sialkot the second point is sadly lacking. It is a poor district and surrounded by poor districts, and the work in consequence, is far from lucrative. Fees are terribly low and the legal practitioners in a sad plight, lacking their professional delicacy of feeling towards each other.

I have chosen it, but it was when I did not know they are so mean. Now I might have changed my headquarters. Delhi I believe is a nice place. Members of the Bar are respected and after all Delhi has been for centuries the capital of India. I would have won fame quickly because of the Associations which are ready to acknowledge merit. However, now I am here at least for sometime just to get into the way of working — just to learn how to start cases and how to conduct them — it will be my apprenticeship.

4th October 1901, Friday.

The Government Service

"Ruling" is a passion of human nature and finds full development in the official ranks of the British Government. To bully people is the alphabet of the Executive and the judiciary. Nothing like it — say these despots. The whole society is rotten to the core — favourtism is rampant, menialism is the code prevalent now. Each two-penny half-penny official considers himself entitled to respect and honour from all his subordinates and from those who are not Government servants. And if their wishes are not complied with they do not hesitate to abuse their powers in order to show that they are worth something. A Chaprasi will not report your visit, an orderly will not get a chair for you, a Munshi will evade giving a date and so on. This wholesale corruption and rottenness is due to the fabric of society having melted away. Honesty is a chimera, fair dealing is unheard of. It is an awful pain to live here and still, I believe, I have to put up with it.

5th October 1901, Saturday.

Sufism and Spiritualism

Vagaries of imagination are the undisputed property of the Asiatics and the loose unconnected vague ideas rankling in the brains of our opium eaters. Hashish eaters rise up to the level of spiritualism. If wonders can be achieved by adapting the body to a variety of movements which are rendered perfect through Exercise, no reason why similar "acrobatism" should be considered impossible in the case of the spirit. If a man can bear the burden of ten men, why should not the spirit of one man preponderate over the spirits of twenty or thirty. Such preponderance is more easily conceivable in the case of the spirit than in that of the body. Mr. Vali Shah, E.A.C. Sialkot, is an enthusiastic Mohammadan and very fond of spiritualism. His knowledge of history, however, is very very poor, so many a point to which he clings with the obstinacy of the ignorant he would yield without dispute if he were to study history properly. However he is a nice man who has a good conception of his duty to God based on the ambition of achieving God — so he is a safe man — one who will do no wrong. He considers he is right and enjoying the best of pleasure — "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise". Blessed be his ignorance and lucky is he for he can still enjoy himself.

I paid a visit to Sardar Sarwar Khan, Tahsildar. He is a typical Tahsildar, quick as lightening, full of promises, trying to please all, jovial and I believe optimistic. He is the personification of the happy forgetfulness of the seriousness of human duties and obligations, nay of total forgetfulness of whence we came and where we go. Of course he is a Mohammadan and knowing that he must die and I believe hopes to get to heaven. But he is a man of the world who transacts worldly affairs with alacrity just as they come to him. He has no programme for life, no ideals, no goal. The current of worldly affairs pushes him along its morbid course. being in a position of comparative super-

iority he is happy. Do the serious problems of life ever put him to task? I believe not. The painful consciousness of 'I am not what I ought to be' never disturbs the self-satisfaction in whose sunshine he belies reality.

He is happy, but are not the singing birds, the frolicsome animals in the meadow also happy. True happiness, one must believe lies in the realisation of human superiority and then in grappling with the serious problems of life. If so, his cannot be one which I would covet. No, and yet it is one which is not a victim to multifarious pains and sorrows. Fix your standard on a low level and you are safe from all the severe blasts and hurricanes that sweep upon the ridges and mountains. I feel, however, that there is a peculiar pleasure in facing those chilly winds. And yet there is an occasion to doubt it.

7th October 1901, Monday.

Mr. Kaul is going. He wanted to get rid of his carriage and horse. Sardar Sarwar Khan advised me that it was not worth buying, so I gave it up, for I could see that the cart is an old thing, the saddle etc, very old indeed. He wanted to get rid of some other things. Poor chap, he sent me a list of goods, quoting the price Rs. 30. I offered Rs. 22 and he did not accept. Eventually he came down to Rs. 20 himself.

I have not heard from my father and I am very uneasy on this score. Moreover I had a note from my wife saying that Mian sahib has been unwell since you left. It makes me very anxious and I am expecting a letter in every mail.

8th October 1901, Tuesday.

Went for a visit to Maulvi Inam Ali, Divisional Judge Sialkot. He is a simple minded man born with a silver spoon in his mouth, little talent and less tact. I believe he does his best to maintain his position and to discharge his functions. That he is totally unfit to be in the administrative line is a conclusion to which one can easily arrive as soon

one has held a conversation with him. So I am not at all surprised to find him ousted from the most coveted branches of the Civil Service. His most characteristic feature is his love of pleasing the world. He yearns to win the golden opinion of the people and is not above flattery. Still I believe him to be a gentlemanly unassuming man of good intentions. Of course his desire to pose as righteous and virtuous is dictated by self-jove. His principle of good morals is that what you are is a matter between yourself and God, but if the people believe you to be good, it is all you should aim at in this world. He thinks it suits to a nicety and I am not inclined to doubt it. But I will question its goodness and its virtue. Is it not the code of abominable hypocrisy? Is it not like playing the wolf in the skin if a lamb? But I am sure he doesn't mean it. If his principles were explained to him in this light, he will declare that he had nothing to do with it. In conclusion — a weak man installed in a high position, he does all he can to raise up to the occasion. The result, however, could not be otherwise than failure. He means no harm and does even less.

9th October 1901, Wednesday.

How I settled in my house -19th October 1901.

It is an awfully difficult task to settle in one's house especially in a new place. You really never know what are the requisites of a house till you have to furnish one and then live in it. In fact, I could not have done it all by myself had it not been for the most acceptable help of a youth Nawab, a friend of Altaf Husain. Altaf Husain's being here was a very great help in settling down in my house. By love what a lot was to be done. To furnish the drawing-room and library; it was a task and once it is almost accomplished, well might I look back upon it with feelings of considerable relief. Then the bedroom, the drawing-room, then the bath and what not. Oh it has been a task which I should not like to undertake again. What with daris? Good

Lord and what with Pardahs. I had quite enough to do and the wonder is that I am in complete control of my senses.

Then I had to engage a Munshi. Well, I have got one. More of this later. My urgent want is Horse and Carriage. I wish I could get one soon.

20th October 1901, Sunday.

I was hardly out of bed when a message came from Mr. Vali Shah asking me whether I would like to call upon Mr. Greenwood or to let him have the horse for the day. I was for the call prepared; and shaved, dressed and came down by 8 a.m. He, however, did not turn up. I had tea by myself, but just when I had finished Altaf Husain turned up and later on Mr. Vali Shah and a friend of his came and asked for tea which was duly provided for them. In another words, there were just about half a dozen uninvited guests to tea. Then we called upon Mr. Greenwood whose wife enjoys by no means a desirable reputation. He is not a bad sort, not hard to talk to. We were talking a long time over a variety of things. I fancy he rather liked my style and something about me. He was polite, courteous and amiably disposed. He has the misfortune to have a very large family, and a wayward wife. He gets, I believe, Rs. 600 per month as his salary and presents as "Bacon" called them "attentions" mount up, I am told, to a considerable amount. He said he would see if he could make me a chamber near the District Courts.

We went to Sh. Ghulam Qadir & Co, Grocers etc. They are, I believe, not very nice people and I should say not very business like. They would snap at anything they could get. I bought a Kropp razor and a Kropp strap, both costing me Rs. 7-8 annas and knife, cleaning materials costing me Rs. 1.

In the afternoon, on hearing that a sale by auction was going to take place, I went with Sarwar Khan to the Sardar. I wanted to buy a horse and carriage and such other things as I could get. Firstly I could not get much and secondly

Sarwar Khan proved the worst companion I could have had. He chose his things and will not let me or any one else have them. He is far from unselfish, perfectly heedless as to the good of others, even of those whom he says is ready to serve. He told me he wanted the mare for horse breeding, he told others he wanted it for driving and so on. One cannot place any reliance on him and it is easier to do without such a friend.

21st October 1901, Monday.

It was a holiday and nothing was done except that I had a talk with Mr. Vali Shah to do something in connection with the death of Amir Abdur Rahman.[28] I actually succeeded in organising a body who were of the same opinion as myself and had a notice written and then got it printed. I thought it advisable to enlist the sympathies of Mohd. Baqir for he is a man of some influence in the city and I was right. The plan made a headway anyhow and I was hopeful but never too sanguine.

22nd October 1901, Tuesday.

I made arrangements concerning the public meeting to be held in Idgah to offer prayers etc. for the benefit of the soul of the deceased Amir.

23rd October 1901, Wednesday.

Today was the most exacting day. In the morning I had to persuade the District and the Division Judges to join the public meeting. I had to overcome their prejudices, their narrow-mindedness, their fears and what not. Mian Nizam Din was rather discouraging and appeared to be rather alarmed at my argumentative tone. I didn't mind it. We went to Maulavi Inam Ali and I did not find it difficult to win him over to my side and Mian Nizam Din also declared for me. Now I had to occupy myself with management and making it succeed. Baqir's cooperation was of considerable importance. I had to frame Resolutions, allot them to various personages, find supporters and seconders; then frame speeches for them. Maulavi

Inam Ali liked all I did and the speech I prepared for him was read out by him in the meeting from the very same paper on which I had written it. I did all and all liked what I did. I delivered a very short speech but it was considered to be brilliant. The whole affair was a great success.

In the evening I went to hear Waugh's lecture in his College Hall.

24th October 1901, Thursday.

I was exceedingly busy in framing articles of the proceedings of the meeting — in English and in vernacular. Maulavi Inam Ali was exceedingly anxious about the affair; and I did my best to satisfy him. Of course he appreciated my services.

Today I was offered a case — an appeal case — cross appeal and a clerk in D.C's court wanted me to do the case free of charge and I did condescend to do so. The reason is that my 'speech' has become well known and as it is only a matter of speech in the Divisional Court, they thought my speech will be of incalculable use to them.

25th October 1901, Friday.

I had an article in The Observer of 23rd on "Masterly In !"#+3cs". There were two or three misprints in the paper but otherwise I believe the article was not bad.

My appeal case came off. I was sure of the appeal of the appellants being dismissed but the appeal in which we were appellants was not a strong one, but Maulavi Inam Ali to raise my reputation high and in gratitude for my services decreed costs also. This was rather good, for it gave me two appeal cases — both won; and moreover my clients should certainly give my fees which the Respondents are madė to pay.

It has been an exciting day and I must say rather a successful one.

26th October 1901, Saturday.

It was quite a day for me. Kept at home all the day long. Ch. Sultan Ali[28] and Maula Dad called and were sitting here for a considerable length of time. Then I studied a bit and in the afternoon went to see Mian Nizam Din, District Judge. It appears Maulavi Inam Ali has been applauding my zeal, my abilities and what not and is quite favourably impressed. I wish I could win the admiration of Mr. Maude.[29] That will be worth having I should think. He knows that I had written the article on 'Inactivity in Politics'.

In today's "Observer" appears an account of our public meeting. It is jolly isn't it?

27th October 1901, Sunday.

Maulavi is very sincere to me now. He does his best to give me a good turn, though this much could not be said of him in the beginning. Today he told me that he had written a note to Mr. Tollinton to see him in order to introduce me personally to him, but that he could not see him because Mr. Tollinton was dangerously ill.

Again he said he should like me to come to him at 4 p.m. so that he could take me with him as that would be rather nice and may prove useful. I did so and we went together and drove back together. Of course others envied my position and I am delighted to think that I have won his favour and gratitude not simply because he knew my father but because I have exerted myself and made myself liked by him.

In the evening I wrote an article on "The Farewell Meeting to a Popular Divisional Judge". It is rather telling isn't it? He tries to do me good and I too do him a good

turn. So quits — that is exactly what I like for I shouldn't care to be gratitude-laden by anyone.

Oh, I am a mastermind. That Faqir Maulavi, a well known figure in Sialkot was trying to entrap me. However I was too subtle to be blind to it. He went back with professions of devotion and adherence and said that he liked me the best of all.

28th October 1901, Monday.

Prabhu Dyal, Pleader, paid a visit to me in the evening. It was very kind of him indeed. This visit lasted for no less than half an hour. In an awkward way he handled my picture books, glanced through a volume of The Review of Reviews and then went off. The report, so far as it goes, is not bad concerning him. He does not drink and is not supposed to be of a generally bad character. But he cannot talk — no power of conversation. I tried to lead him, but it was a utter failure. They do not know how to be social with decency. Their jokes are very crude and obnoxious. I wish I could reform them, but it is a wish whose realization is far from possible. There is hardly any society here. Of course I could meet Mian Nizam Din and Benarsi Das, but that I hardly call society. Shall I mix with Anglo-Indians.

This appears, to be the only alternative. If my income rises to Rs. 500 per month, I think I could keep up my establishment in good style, have my wife, my sister and two brothers, with me, a female servant and a retinue of half a dozen male servants and two Munshies. I believe it will cost me just about Rs. 300 or Rs. 400, but then there is a possibility of increase. As it is I am afraid I will have to ask for some money from my father. As soon as I buy a carriage I will have no money left for spending on odds and ends. Up to the end of this month, I believe, I will have no more earnings than Rs. 25. But that is only for two cases, and if I get my appeal case fees, it will go up to Rs. 50 for about 8 days which is after all not so bad. In

November, I hope to get no less than Rs. 300 and in December say Rs. 200 — in fact just enough to keep me up with out obliging me to ask for money from my father for I should not care to do that.

29th October 1901, Tuesday.

Today I saw my old tutor-master — Nanak Chand. He was a good fellow. He helped me in my studies both for the Middle and Entrance Examinations of the Punjab University. My father did him a good turn, but up till now he has made little progress. He is a good sort.

I went to see Maulavi Inam Ali. Mian Nizam Din happened to be there. We had a very long chat over a variety of affairs. Mian Nizam Din comes to know me better now. Maulavi Inam Ali today proposed me as member of the Memorial Fund Committee and I was actually elected. That was rather good; old chap Greenwood seconded the proposal and it was carried. Now we are trying to put Mian Nizam Din up for Presidentship.

30th October 1901, Wednesday.

A social Evening Party was given by the Sialkot people on the occasion of Maulavi Inam Ali's departure. It was in fact given by one section of the Bar. Its object, the other section, assert to be the confirmation of suspicion as to "The Tribune's" publishing that the Divisional Judge has certain connections with the people of Sialkot and so should be transferred. It was a clever move though, seeing that those very members of the Bar had written to the other section that the Party be given by the Bar only and that none be invited excepting the judicial officers. The party was fair one for Sialkot.

I drove with Maulavi Sahib to his house and then made him write a letter to the D.C. concerning the presi-

dentship of the Victoria Memorial Fund Committee. I laid Mian Nizam Din under a debt of gratitude.

Ch. Nasrullah Khan[30] gave a dinner on the occasion of Maulavi Inam Ali's departure. The dinner I should say was a good one and well managed.

31st October 1901, Thursday.

There was another dinner given by Sh. Miran Baksh, a close relative of Maulavi Inam Ali. Only about seven or eight were invited. The dinner was a good one.

1st November 1901, Friday.

The Bar room scandal —

It will indeed be difficult to imagine a Bar worse than the Sialkot Bar. The enormous number of Mukhtars, the inability of Barristers and the greed of Pleaders have rendered the Sialkot Bar as a thoroughly bad one, and such as one would rather not join. Today they were discussing a scandal of which any institution, however corrupt and mean should be ashamed of. Someone, most likely a legal practioner, had joined hands with some police officer and in his private confidential diary gave the name of certain practitioners, their touts and rates. This leaked out and in consequence those whose names were mentioned therein were simply furious. When discussing this matter their language was most abominable. I wish there was a better Bar, but what can I do.

2nd, Nov. 1901, Saturday/3rd Nov. Sunday.

Received some fruit from father — in fact from a contractor in Peshawar from whom my father had ordered some fruit. There were pomegranate and quinces. I sent some to Mr. Greenwood who sent a nice letter thanking

me; some to Syed Vali Shah, some to Rai Benarsi Das, some to Altaf Husain.

I have received some medicine from my father; for curing my glands. I will try it.

4th November 1901, Monday.

Mohd. Baqir[31] paid me a visit. We had a long chat. Then he took me for a drive and all was very nice. He seems to be a nice fellow and I rather like him. Of course all that he says is not always quite the right thing, still that is a weakness which he shares with humanity in general and the Sialkotis in particular. He took me to Ghulam Qadir, the merchant and bought some sweets and offered them to me.

5th Nov. 1901, Tuesday/6th Nov. 1901, Wednesday.

For two days I was suffering from a queer thing — what they call 'Chapaki' — certain eruptions appearing on the skin and after some hours disappearing. In the afternoon I felt rather uncomfortable and early in the evening went to bed, and soon discovered that the 'Chapaki' was coming on. I did not like it at all. Called my servant and ordered some honey, almonds, etc. It appeared in swarms. Then I had some tea and dismissing my servant, fell asleep. Early in the morning, on waking up, discovered that there was no more of it.

On the following day at noon I felt too uncomfortable to step downstairs. So soon after tiffin went upstairs to bed. As soon as I undressed, swarms of 'Chapaki' reappeared. Again I had honey, almond and jawain. At midnight it disappeared. Early in the morning, I had a cold bath and thank heaven felt all the better after it.

7th November 1901, Thursday.

Mian Nizam Din is a queer chap no doubt. He sent me a message, asks me to see him and then wants me to write a letter of condolence to Mr. Dane, Resident of Cashmire.

So much he is anxious to see the English officers that I should call him quite crazy. I drafted a letter and he appeared to be quite satisfied with it.

8th November 1901, Friday.

Rather a funny thing happened. While sitting in the bar room with P.D. Singh, Prabhu Dayal and Krishan Chand, there came Beli Ram who by the way has a name for writing small bits of complaints against Mohammadan officials. He referred to something appearing in "The Tribune" to the effect "That the Sialkot public rejoice in their European Div. Judge and they have reasons for doing so". I looked secretive and said most precisely and seriously — what a pity Maude is not likely to see it, otherwise he would appreciate it very much. My remarks went home to the black sheep and he hastened to hail me in an off-hand manner, but I answered him severely. He attempted a lengthy argument and started in what he thought a clever way by asking whence I got my tie? I evaded and he found it so difficult to extricate himself that he ended with apologies. Serves the chap right, hope he will know better in future. These wretched jealous chaps, by Jove I will give them hot as soon as I find an opportunity to do so.

9th November 1901, Saturday.

Went to see the Parade in honour of the Emperor's birthday. There was a splendid show, but just imagine no natives worth mentioning there, no crowds, no bustle. Imagine a few soldiers passing in London streets. Why the streets will be in a bustle. Here they don't care a two pence for any military show. They don't feel interested. Here is apathy writ large on the gravestone of India. All that they now care for is to manage somehow or other to scrape enough for maintenance.

In the afternoon went to see Ata Ullah Khan. He has his house well furnished and shown some taste. There I saw Mr. Rukund Din, E.A.C. He was staying here at his

relative's house. Ata Ullah wanted him to give his address, but he evaded it again and again. Poor chap he is ashamed of his connections.

Then we went to see the Polo match.

In the evening there was a meeting of the Graduates' Union under the presidency of Mr. Waugh. There these Hindu chaps showed their animosity against me by obstinately excluding me from the sub-committee formed for framing Rules & Regulations. As they are determined to neglect merit nay even to insult it, I don't think I will have anything to do with it, though it is by no means a bad plan, and if properly managed could become an institution of considerable power.

10th November 1901, Sunday.

Altaf Husain brought me "The Victoria" paper wherein there is a Leader on 'Official Sympathy' and it alludes to Vali Shah and Altaf Husain showing considerable favour to me. It cries against the respect shown to me over and above that which is shown to others, and against Vali Shah's taking me with him to the court, in one and the same cart and so on. Of course this is the result of Hindu enmity. They are as envious as anything. They would not let a single case come to me only if they could help it. What am I to do, I really do not know. Of course the immediate thing to be done is to neglect it altogether. Happily Vali Shah is away and will not return till the 14th. On the 15th we may go to court together, then I will be off on 21st. So I believe it will cool off.

11th November 1901, Monday.

Today Karim Baksh of "Anwarul Islam" obliged me by bringing a case to me. It was under the Arms Act. There was no commentary on the Act and for two hours I was in an awful plight. I had no Notification or Legislation of the years 1895-1900. I thought of asking for help either from

Nasrullah Khan or from Rai Banarsi Das. I was just on the point of doing so, but my self-dependence saved me from making that mistake. At last I found out the law in Rattigan's Acts applicable to the Punjab.

12th November 1901, Tuesday.

I have actually won the case about which I was so uneasy only yesterday. I got Rs. 15 for it and considering that I was only for 5 minutes in DC/s court it is not at all a bad bargain.

Got another case. I believe I will soon work up a good practice for myself even in Sialkot. I have got Rs. 57 for fees up-to-date and hope by the end of the month I will be in receipt of another Rs. 100. That will be Rs. 150 for my first month, and if I succeed in getting Rs. 200 before the X-mas vacations, I will be quite satisfied, for then I will have a chance of beginning the new year with Rs. 300, and raise it to Rs. 500 before the summer season. It appears rather difficult to get beyond Rs. 500 per month. As soon as I begin to get Appeal Work, I hope to make considerable progress. I think Rs. 40 for the Divisional Court and from Rs. 30 to Rs. 15 in the District Court are the proper though modest fees for me. Rs. 10 is the minimum payable in advance. Of course a case which can be settled in one Peshi[32] is very good and a small fee like Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 may be accepted for it. If the case is one which is likely to drag on for months, it should not be accepted for less than Rs. 50. I should have in big criminal cases Rs. 20 in advance and Rs. 20 afterwards. Three or four cases would pay up my monthly expenses.

I had a letter from Ghulam Bhik. I will attach him to myself; and with the help of a few more colleagues establish a policy of my own and soon install myself their Leader. These chaps want the initiative and with God's help I will supply that. If I only succeed in working up a good practice here, saving some money say Rs. 500- and

then going to Lahore, establishing myself there and getting a good practice in the Chief Court and other courts, and to establish my School of Politics of lecturing and achieving National Leadership. If I win honours and gather up money as old Rattigan did, I may one day move to London and try my luck there. All the time I have made up my mind to keep myself in contact with Politics. I will be always up-to-date, read as much as I can and think more. My ambition is to be The Recognised Leader of The Indian Musalmans, and some day to sit in the House of Commons as The Right Honourable Gentleman from the Punjab.

13th November 1901, Wednesday.
There was another holiday.

Received "Makhzan" from my friend Sh. Abdul Qadir. It appears to be a nice monthly journal of Urdu Literature. I have nothing to say against it, and much can be said for it. Of course it falls short of my ideal Magazine. I should like it to contain descriptive, humorous and character sketches separately, and to devote a part of it to Reviewing and criticism. However, it is a good start and I wish it a brilliant success with all my heart. In fact I hope to devote some time in getting ready some subject for it.

14th November 1901, Thursday.

Lately I have been living quite an isolated life, no one to talk to, no society, nay not even an individual. Fancy that, and still I bear it out manfully. Grand isn't it? In fact I am rather averse to making advances. Still with the poor I am very friendly and wish them to feel at their ease when in my company. As for the proud, why I am the proudest of the proud. I want the people to love me and those who deign to consider me their equal to respect me. The jealous I will keep at a distance.

15th November 1901, Friday.

There was a great row today in the court. Mohammadans and Mirzais had a quarrel. The Mullah of the

Friday mosque had prohibited others from praying and they wanted some relief from his tyranny. The Mullah reported to the Police that there is a great danger of breach of peace. The matter was referred to the D.C. Both parties were summoned, and the D.C. under S.145 attached the property and issued orders that the party claiming it should institute a civil suit.

I assured them that it was best to be on peaceful terms and to get reconciled rather than go to court in religious matters. Hamid Shah,[33] however, thinking that the order of the D.C. was favourable to his Mirzai Mullah said that the DC's order be now obeyed.

I have done all that was in my power to do and no more can I do. I offered them my services, but they appear to be engaged in hatching their own schemes and I am not going to interfere till they solicit my help.

16th Nov 1901, Saturday.

A meeting of the Graduates Union was held this evening at 6 p.m.. under the presidency of Mr. Waugh. Mr.Waugh is a nice fellow, but I shouldn't think much of him as a lecturer. He lectured for about half an hour. There was nothing choice. No selection of expression, no appealing effect, nothing grand, nothing impressive. Wonder what he will think of me as a Lecturer on the 27th instant. I should like his wife to be there for she struck me poetically inclined, and endowed with artistic taste, ambitious, ready to exert herself per chance she may achieve her ends. I like such a character — it shows the true metal. Mr. Waugh is also very good in his own way, but I don't believe he has the fire in him.

They read the rules of the sub-committee. Of course I criticised very rule, quite heedless of Diwan Chand, E.A.C., the result being that I was elected to the sub-committee. Mr. Waugh held a conversation with me and Diwan Chand liked to have a talk with me, and arranged to hold a meet-

ing of the sub-committee in my house. So far so good, but what a pity I will not be able to attend the next meeting.

17th Nov 1901, Sunday.

I have kept myself fairly busy today. In the morning I waded through Madras Law reports August, Sept and Oct numbers; looked through "Makhzan", and glanced through "Anwarul Islam". Then I had a look at "The Observer". Then I got ready my Address Book and put the addresses fairly therein. Then I began to get ready my lecture and I have just finished half of it. Hope I will get ready the whole of it before I leave for Gurdaspur — that is to say I could give two more evenings to it, and no more.

18th Nov 1901, Monday.

Went to Batala on my way to Gurdaspur. My mother[34] had gone to Mardan just a few days before my departure, I suppose to prevent my wife seeing me. She has been saying a lot of things against me. I wish I could become quite independent, for then my devotion to my father would not stand the chance of being misinterpreted. It is really disheartening to hear how she talks.

My case was pretty strong, but as the Statements were not given in, I could not settle the case there and then.

On my way back to Sialkot I stopped at Lahore and saw T.W. Arnold, Sh. Abdul Qadir and many others.

On Wednesday the 27th Nov, I delivered a lecture in connection with the Literary Society of The Scotish Mission College & School. Mr. Waugh the Principal was in the chair. The audience were rather complex, but very attentive though deaf to all pointed remarks and humorous discourses. On the whole I believe it was great success.

2nd December 1901, Monday.

My mare has arrived at last. It is a beautiful animal, four years old, but at present rather thin. It is fiery and

shies, but I do hope she will become quite free and smooth. I am in a predicament. I have no trap, no trap mare and noting of it. This is rather bad, for I have to depend upon others; and what is more Syed Vali Shah's trap is not at all decent. I have got no proper servant for my stables. I hear Jafer wants to sell his — all ready and fit. I should not mind buying it at a reasonable price. If I could get it for Rs.250 (i.e. horse 100, trap 100, and fittings 50), it would be a bargain, but I am afraid he will not accept anything below Rs.300. If he wants Rs.300 I am afraid I will have to ask my father to give me Rs.100. If I could get Rs. 175, that could pay Rs. 35, my travelling cost, then I could spend Rs.100 on trap and Rs.40 on the goods I bought in auction.

Today I had a letter from Sh. Abdul Qadir asking me to write a couple of Leaders for "The Observer" during his absence in Calcutta and Madras. I think I will write one on Educational Reform, and another on The Law relating to Volunteers.

My work, I am afraid, is getting very slack since I went to Gurdaspur — got only one case. It is bad, but what is to be done I hardly know. There were two appeal cases coming but they never came. I am expecting no other case. There was an appeal of some Rs. 30 fee and the chaps appeared to be anxious enough, but they never came with their copy of the order and decree. "Do your best and trust God".

During the last few days I have been very friendly with Aga Mohd Baqir Khan who I believe is a nice fellow. In fact, I have written something concerning him which I hope the present Editor will put in.

3rd Dec. 1901, Tuesday to 15th Dec. 1901, Sunday.

1. My want of perseverance in keeping up the Diary.
2. Home affairs.
3. My practice.

1. It is really worse than shameful that I have not been able to keep up the Diary regularly. It is indeed most provoking and I am quite disgusted with myself at this. I wish I could get more regular in this valuable habit.

2. Home affairs bear an awkward turn and I wish I could change them to make them wear a pleasanter prospect. My father, I am afraid, is not as considerate as he used to be. He is more open to persuasion from certain quarters, and is more easily led than before. However my mind is quite settled, and I am going to do my level best in removing all complaints as long as they are reasonable. At all events I will give him no opportunity to get displeased with me.

3. My practice. I went to Gurdaspur. In Batala and in fact everywhere people look down upon the Legal Profession and what is worse, its future is very dark, in fact it has no future. This is indeed very alarming to me and the remarks made by the people are almost sickening. They are impertinent enough to tell me that I am making a mistake in not getting some employment but what employment on earth can I get? The sad fact that this Legal Profession has *no future* has certainly distressed me a good deal, but what can I do? is the question. There is one chance and one chance only i.e. *in the Provincial Civil Service*. If a vacancy occurs against Mohammadans, I have a fair chance of getting the appointment. But will it fall vacant? There are three Provincial Civilians; and it will be years before they retire. What can I do but wait and wait patiently. There is nothing else that I can do. E.A.C. ship is quite hopeless. How am I to get it? By competition — I should not, though I can score off easily. More than once have I thought of appealing to Col. Deane, the Chief Comr. of N.W. Frontier Province, so that under his auspices I should get a good post. I do not know whether it is in his power to get me a post. I mean to pay him a visit and tell him what I can do and why I want to leave of my Practice and just to let him

know that I fully understand the principles of Personal Government and that if entrusted with it hope to do credit to the Benefactor who gets me such a good responsible post. If he cannot do anything, I must stick to Law through thick and thin, and wait for Provincial Civil Service. And if even that fails I must drudge on with Law and do my best to work up a Practice for myself. The decrees of God cannot be averted by us and it is no use worrying when the case lies beyond our efforts.

16th December 1901, Monday.

My Munshi has lost his daughter and I am afraid it was plague case. I want a Munshi and a good one too. Mangal Sain is a general favourite and he is expected today to take up the post. Husain Shah did not get a single case during this month. It was only through Karim Baksh that I got three small cases this month, one was an old client and another case came 'on reputation', and another given by Nasrullah's Munshi.

Monetary affairs are, I am afraid, not very prosperous. Rs. 22 I have spent in going to Gurdaspur. I think I owe just about Rs. 120 to Auctioneers, Ghulam Qadir & Co. Rupa Shah and servants, and I have not got enough to meet these liabilities. Wish I will get two or three cases to make me discharge all these expenses. I hate owing money to anybody.

17th December 1901, Tuesday.

Got a case today. The people came to me of their own accord and engaged me. I have no Munshi so I have to do without him. It was not at all a bad case. Lt. Col. Robert was well impressed by my speech and did exactly as I wanted him to do. He does not like long jabbering and I do not blame him. He hates Ganga Ram, Beli Ram and others and I believe chiefly because they are such a nuisance to him — talk too much.

Bought a cavalry mare from the auction. I will keep it for driving purposes. It is 12 years old and does not appear to be a bad one at all. It cost me Rs. 40, and I am thinking of breaking it for driving. It I buy a trap for Rs. 100 and all the accessories i.e. Harness Rs. 20, Seats Rs. 15, Lamps Rs. 15, etc Rs. 10 — the whole thing will cost just Rs. 200 — exactly the amount I can afford and spending Rs. 30 on getting saddle etc. I will be able to do splendidly. Thus I will have my own trap etc. and a mare to ride.

Saw E.B. Howell Esq I.C.S. today. He is an Emmanuel[35] man and came here only a few years ago. He appeared to be a nice fellow and hope to visit him again.

18th December 1901, Wednesday.

Still no Munshi, and I am half afraid to engage Mangal Sain for he is over friendly with Nasrullah Khan and his Munshis. Of course I should not care to pay him Rs. 15 a month simply for being called my Munshi while he gives all good cases to Nasrullah Khan. I suppose he gets more than his Munshiana[36] for giving him all these fine cases. This is rather bad. Husain Shah is not at all bad. I think he is a good trumpet though not a good Munshi. I might get that chap as my second, but that will be after X-mas vacations.

P.D. Singh and myself have won the Sessions appeal of Gujranwala. This was really more than I expected. However I got Rs. 20 for it. Not bad I should think.

Got another case — a Revision and Appeal in the District Judge's court, and another Criminal in Mr. Howell's court. For both I am not yet paid, and I may win both.

19th December 1901, Thursday.

Some day I will have my revenge on Nihal Chand. I was appearing in a section 194 case and the brute had the impudence to address me saying that I should not interrupt him. Just imagine the impudence of the man. He will

get it rather hot when I do give it to him. I must bide my time, and then God help the wretch if he incur my wrath.

I am thinking of going to Mardan and may bring my wife with me. It will be a saving in some ways.

20th December 1901, Friday.

Appeared in an appeal case. Did good pleading, not a bad speech I should say.

There are district sports held in the Rasala ground.

21st December 1901, Saturday.

I have engaged Mangal Sain after all. He is a clever chap and if he exerts himself in working for me I am sure he will be able to help me in working up a practice for myself. I like the man, but there is one thing rather suspicious and that is his alliance with Nasrullah Khan and his Munshis. I don't like this double-dealing. Seeing that I am not incapable and that I have a bright future, he may give up this double-dealing and build up his fortune with mine. I like a man with some good stuff in him; a humdrum will never do for me.

22nd December 1901, Sunday.

Have bought a saddle for Rs. 22, a mare for Rs. 40, paid up my auction bill Rs. 34. Here you are just about Rs. 100. Then there will be about Rs. 30 Ghulam Qadir's Bill and accessories of saddle will cost about Rs. 25. So these big sums mount up to Rs. 150. I mean to make clean all my liabilities so that I may know what I am about; and I intend beginning the New Year on my own account. I have not yet bought my Trap. This is too bad and I really do not know how to manage this affair I will make another appeal to Sarwar Khan and give another offer to Jafar. He wants Rs. 350 and it is really too much for it. I will tell Sarwar to keep an eye upon the Trap and to buy it if he can.

My Beloochi mare is a fine animal and I think she is

quite tractable if the rider has some tact. It is no use forcing her to do anything, for she is too young and untrained to do that, but there are ways to get round even animals. I like her immensely and she takes to me. We appear to understand each other. How I should love to ride her. As for the one I have bought from the Cavalry, I think she is not a bad one, but I am not going to lend it to A.B. & C. As soon as I return I will ride her myself, for thus I will get a practice in riding and will be able to manage my Beloochi mare readily.

23rd December 1901, Monday.

One has to spend such a lot if one wants to live decently. I was buying saddling etc, and it does cost a lot. I have not yet finished. During the last week I have been through no less than Rs. 150, well, that is dreadful. I still owe a Bill of about Rs. 35, and another of Rs. 30, and another of Rs. 25 — in all Rs. 90 and no more. Thus, if on my return I discharge all the liabilities at once, I will have nothing left with me for ordinary expenses. I think I will have to ask my father to give me another hundred and then I will be pretty safe. However, if Jafar gives me his Trap all complete excepting his mare, for Rs. 175, then I could get on without much bother. Oh I think I will get a hundred from my father after showing him all the accounts. He is reasonable and he will allow me the sum. Besides in the beginning of October he gave me Rs. 500; and now Rs. 100 i.e. Rs. 600 in all. Of these I possess Rs. 250 i.e. have spent Rs. 350. Rs. 80 for mare and saddlery and so on. On my return I will pay up my servants, my Ghulam Qadir Bill and my house rent and start the new year on my own account. I sincerely wish I may be able to pull on without anyone's help.

24th to 31st December 1901.

Went to Mardan and was greeted, on my arrival, by my father. We had just had a baby on the preceding

night.[37] So we were all very happy. My wife was fairly well, but later on she became feverish.

My father was very kind to me during my stay there, but my mother and sister, both made no attempts to conceal their disgust — for I make no heaps of money, and led to believe that they consider me a burden upon them. I do pray I may soon be spared this agony.

As I myself was not fully satisfied with my success and my future prospects, I went to Peshawar to see what I could do there. Saw Major Inglis. He was all kindness and said he would do anything for me. But advised me to stick to the profession 'for I cannot help thinking you cannot do better than stick to it'. I laid out my case before him, but again and again he said that I must stick to Law, and if I must give it up he will do his best to help me. Then he gave me a letter of introduction to Mr. Bunbury, the Judicial Commissioner. He was a proud man and made no promise to help me.

I was staying with Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law who was feeling very doubtful as to his own prospects. He has been back in India for the last two or three years and as yet cannot earn much or even anything. It is a pity, but then I never thought much of his abilities.

On returning to Mardan, I stayed there but for a day and returned to Sialkot with my younger brother Amjad Husain to take care of his education in Sialkot.

1st January 1902 to 29 January 1902.

I meant to have a regular Diary of the year 1902, I have made a very bad start indeed — in fact could not have made a worse one. However, it is no use crying over spilt milk, so I will make best of the bad bargain and without giving expression to good intentions, which pave the wide path to Hell, I will set to work — record briefly the bygones, and not let the day fall in arrears —

I. The Id — it was a lonely one. The plague was rampant and no good company to be had. Baqir asked me to dine with him and that was all. In the evening saw Ata Ullah Khan.

II. The Plague — Sialkot has fallen a victim to it, and lately there have been several cases in my immediate neighbourhood, that is rather distressing I must confess; and still I believe I am not at all afraid of the Plague. It appears to have no terrors for me chiefly I suppose because I am not supremely happy or sanguine of future bliss.

III. Practice — Well my work is fairly on but no startling success. In fact I spend more than I earn — a position which is naturally detestable to me. There is the alternative of an E.A.C. ship Rs. 250 a month — not half so bad as lounging about, and then promotion is assured. In the Bar I must drag on and may rise to Rs. 500, but as for more than Rs. 200, it is rather difficult. Moreover the profession is looked down upon, while a Civil Service Officer, however incapable he may be is much thought of and much made of. This is distressing me a good deal. I am thinking of writing to Major Inglis.

IV. Gurdaspur — In the Chuni Lal case, I did very well, examined the witnesses satisfactorily, and delivered a nice humorous and effective speech which was much admired by the District Judge and others.

Went to Amritsar, was putting up there with Malik Khuda Baksh. There I was present at the opening ceremony of the Islamia School by the Lt.Governor; and also at the Garden Party given to the Lt. Governor by the Amritsar Municipality, and also at the Illumination. It was really very grand. So much was made of Sir M. Young & Lady Young, that it set me a thinking as to Sir M. Young in London — what a change. He is busy in visiting the native states — to

gather curios — in fact bagging as much as possible for another opportunity may never arise.

30th January 1902, Thursday.

I have won the Gurdaspur case and the Batala folks now must think a lot of me. I am thoroughly satisfied with the result of it. The District Judge has actually written in the judgement that he is thoroughly satisfied with the conducting of the case. Hope it will satisfy my father.

31st January 1902, Friday.

Oh the Plague is awful here. It shows no signs of diminution, and the people have become quite careless in the matter — they don't mind it. I really do not know what to do. The worst of it is that the Plague is supposed to get more furious during March and April.

1st February 1902, Saturday.

Had an interesting case in the Munsiff's court with L. Bali Ram to oppose me. I raised the question of Non-joinder and Mis-joinder with the result that the plaint was rejected with costs.

Won another case in the District Judge's court — a big case but with nominal fee.

2nd February 1902, Sunday.

My father wants me to leave Sialkot for some other station — (1) Because of the Plague; and (2) Because the work here is not particularly remunerative. It is true that I am no brilliant success here — my work here is indifferent. But then I don't believe a fresher could conquer with the first rush. Fees here are deplorable, but then that is more or less true of all places. Where could I go? Gurdaspur is distinctly bad — no society, no cantonment, nothing. Shahpur — I don't like the place. Multan is already over-crowded. So far as the work is considered I don't think it is any use changing the station except for Peshawar.

As for the Plague — it requires consideration. Sooner or later, Plague is going to be all over the Punjab. As for leaving the station for a week or so — there is no hope of its decreasing within such a short time, in fact the worst of it is supposed to come in March and April for the present, I think I should continue where I am till I hear from Major Inglis. I hope I will hear from him before long, and then I will apply for enrollment and leave for Peshawar directly. I have as much a chance of making a name in the Frontier Province as in the Punjab; and at all events more chance of making money. If my income rises to Rs. 1000 a month I will be thoroughly satisfied.

As for Amjad — I will not send him to School any more. I will teach him something myself. I will wait till I see which way the wind blows. Oh how I wish this Plague were over at least in Sialkot city, so that we could live without the present dread which is becoming intolerable.

3rd February 1902, Monday.

The Plague is getting worse and worse every day — 16 deaths from Plague yesterday. Isn't it dreadful. I must really think of leaving the place. But then I have spent no less than six or seven hundred Rs. on it. Removal will cost at least Rs. 100 and I will have to leave some chairs etc. worth, I should think at least Rs. 100. So I will lose some Rs. 300 by moving. And what do I gain? No anxiety from the Plague, at least for the time being, for I am afraid the Plague is going to spread over each and every district of the Punjab. As for my work — there is not much work anywhere and then to have to start from the very beginning is bad. Gurdaspur is not in the least inviting — no work there. Multan has already lost a good bit of work and the place is overcrowded. Shahpur is going to be one of the infected districts soon. So I turn my eyes to Peshawar once more. No news yet from Major Inglis. He may never reply. I will write tomorrow to my father and ask him to see Major Inglis on the subject. I wish this suspense were

over; but what can I do towards getting it over. As for work here, it may get prosperous. Beli Ram, I think is doing well, getting Rs. 600 or 700 a month. Nasrullah is doing well, also Charan Das, Mool Chand and Amar Das and Sh Ali Baksh doing fairly well, Anant Ram and Ganga Ram not badly — and as for others it is rather bad.

4th February 1902, Tuesday.

P.D. Singh brought a Mason Boer to courts today. He was a Captain in the army, but was a Solicitor in Johannesburg before the war began. He was a nice fellow, outspoken, enthusiastic, fair-minded. His enthusiasm did not have the better of his common sense. Of course he denied any sinister motives so far as the Republicans were concerned, but went in for the English whom he described as a nation of liars and robbers. He claimed admiration so far as their brave conduct was concerned, and knew what the war of independence will be styled in the future, but that, he said very truly, was no substantial consolation to them in their present misery. He knew that The Powers were not likely to interfere simply because humanitarianism seldom goes beyond sentimentality. He believed in Might is Right, and that he thought explained every inequity in India. 'By God' said he 'I should like see pride and importance knocked off England's head'. They are, he thought, too much puffed up. Looking round he thought he would rather die than be subservient to the Victors in the field. He assured us that all the news spread by the English were utterly false. That their Generals in the field held frequent communications with each other, and in fact without these could not exist. I gave him my trap to take him to his camp. We should be very circumspect in censuring the Europeans even though it be before a Boer.

No news yet from Peshawar. Wonder why? I wish I will get an answer.

5th February 1902, Wednesday.

It was rather a dull day for me. In the evening Jafar came. He is such a nice fellow. I showed him 'The Hundred Best Pictures' and then went home.

6th February 1902, Thursday.

Had a case in the Bench. Well, it was argued for about two hours and ultimately I carried the point.

7th February 1902, Friday.

Had another Appeal in the Bench. It was a strong one. Mr. Maude has been really favouring me when he actually sent for Examination the file in which I was appearing. This is the second time he has shown me this favour. I was going to make him give hot to the Tahsildar Sardar Sarwar Khan, but then I relented and he sent back the file for evidence on another issue.

8th February 1902, Saturday.

Mohd Baqir has had another son — a most welcome addition to the family, as people here would say. It is not so bad yet, for he has only two sons. But then he is not yet 25, and if he lives to a good age he may have dozens. Let us hope he will prosper. He is a nice fellow.

Last evening we went for a long ride and went to see Beatty who is indeed a charming fellow. While talking to him of my mare he actually undertook to break her for me. I told him of all the dangers with which his kind offer was fraught. He has seen the mare today and still holds out his offer.

Today a notice was circulated to the effect that Prayers for the removal of the Plague will be offered in the Idgah on Sunday at 10 a.m. — and the notice was signed in my name. This was done by Karim Baksh. It is indeed very kind of him to try to render me very popular. I hope we

will have a lot of people in the Idgah. I have written to Mian Nizam Din, and the Tahsil Munsif to come, and they have promised to come.

In the evening in the Graduates Union I proposed "That the Graduates Union be wound up". There was just the quorum. I delivered, what Diwan Chand afterwards told me was a nice and good speech — I think it was. There was no one to support it, so the proposal fell off. I am sure it will be a failure, and I think I will chuck it the next month.

9th February 1902, Sunday.

We went for Prayers to the Idgah. There was a huge gathering pushed thither by the fear of ruthless Plauge. It did seem strange that they should mass together without much persuasion. 'Fear of Life' is the most effective thing in such cases. It was a success and I am glad of it.

I do really believe in the efficacy of sincere prayers en masse. You see the wishes of so many people are directed in one direction i.e. expelling the pestilence, the result being that it is actually expelled. United "Wills" could effect anything. But the difficulty is to get them together and to make them exert their united force in one direction.

I was invited by Jafar to dine with him at 12. He had invited some Peshawari chaps too. He gave us a nice dinner, and they were talking cricket all the time. In the evening myself and Jafar went for a ride and had a nice enjoyable ride.

10th February 1902, Monday.

Nothing worse than want of experience. I had just made a sad blunder. Indeed it was nothing short of a blunder. Mr. Irwing had convicted a man under S. 252 and given him one month's imprisonment. His Mukhtar wanted to file an appeal and I actually wrote down the appeal, stamped it and saw the file, and did everything but filing it, and in fact could have done so but for a chance. However

in the morning I was awakened and knew that I was on the brink of a precipice. Good gracious and that in the presence of Mr. Maude. It was a narrow escape indeed.

11th February 1902, Tuesday.

This was an unpleasant day for me. I had sent my mare to Mr. Beatty and she did not return in time. I was imagining all sorts of dreadful things — a fall and the rest. God Heavens, I should never have excused myself in that case. In this hurry I lost a case and that made me wild, for I felt that I should not have lost it. There was an appeal and Mr.Renauf did not give me a date for it and rejected it. This was another thing to put me out. The appeal accepted by the Dist. Judge against me of course was contrary to law, still I had to bear it, but it did put me out considerably.

12th February 1902, Wednesday.

Oh, it was a half holiday, so I took Mr.Bakar with me and went to see Beatty riding my mare. He was not there — he had gone to a case of accidental death of the Head Clerk of the Cant. Magistrate, by falling down a well. And there was Mr.Badr Din, a friend of Baqir's who was just waiting to get his post !"*2ad man's shoes. Isn't it fearful. This is a strange world I have often thought. Then we returned to court and thence to see Mr. Waugh. He told us of a strange occurrence. Some thieves forced in the doors of his bedroom and took away a trunk from a distance of three feet from his bed. His wife thought there was a rustle, but they did not notice at all. Some servant must be in the conspiracy. Then we went and saw Beatty riding my mare and returned home. Then Baqir lunched with me and went home.

13th February 1902, Thursday.

It was a holiday today. As there was an auction and Sarwar Khan is mad upon auctions so we went to the auction. In the afternoon, Baqir came to me and spoke about going, and forced me to ride with him just for a few

minutes. Well, I agreed. He told me shameful stories of Sarwar. How he came and asked for a prostitute and his other shameful dealings. It is indeed too bad. I dearly wish I could save Baqir from such nonsense. I will be the making of him, otherwise he may be led away by bad company.

I have been very busy in preparing the case.

14th February 1902, Friday.

Got up in the morning. Altaf Husain came to me, for we were contemplating a big dinner party of some 40 to 50 men. We were talking over the arrangements, when my servant laid a letter in my hand . I shivered and said aloud — I fear there are no good news therein. I tore it open and read of the death of my sister's baby. It appears as if coming misfortune cast their shadows beforehand. Oh it was too dreadful for words, and the suspense as to the state of my sister's health. I immediately wrote a letter to my sister and all the plans of the dinner were given up.

Then I went to court. There was a huge gathering. The proceedings began and the crowd gathered in great numbers.

26th April 1902, Saturday, Sialkot.

It is deuced silly of me to give up writing this diary out regularly. The way to Hell is paved with good intentions, by jove, it is quite time. Now I will make no promises and start straight off —

Section 2

ARTICLES "MAKHZAN"
FEBRUARY 1902; OCTOBER 1902

فن تنقید

کیا وجہ ہے کہ ہماری زبان دانی کا ستارہ برج نحوست میں آن پڑا؟ کیا باعث کہ علم تاریخ کا ہنر ہم سے کھویا گیا؟ کیا سبب کہ حکمت و فلسفہ جہاں اب سے چھ سو سال پہلے تھے وہیں کے وہیں رہ گئے؟ اعلیٰ تصانیف کا سلسلہ کیوں منقطع ہو گیا اور غیر معتبر' بے معرف اور بے ربط تالیفات پر ہمارے عالموں اور جاہلوں نے کیوں کمر باندھ لی؟ اس ترقی معکوس کے کئی باعث ہیں لیکن اس وقت ہم صرف ایک باعث کی طرف اشارہ کرنا چاہتے ہیں' اور وہ فن تنقید کی کمی ہے۔ مقام شکر ہے کہ مخزن کے گلشن میں فن تنقید کا غنچہ کھلا۔ ہماری یہ کوشش ہونی چاہئے کہ اسے سموم حوادث سے بچائیں۔ یہ تمنا ہے کہ اس کی مہک ہمارے علم ادب کے پژمردہ پھولوں کو دوبارہ تازگی بخشے۔ یہ آرزو ہے کہ اس کے طفیل ہماری زبان دانی بھی لفظی مخمصوں سے نکل کر اپنا فرض منصبی ادا کرنے لگے اور ہمارے عشق کے فسانوں کے دیوانے ہوش سنبھال کر علم' ادب و ہنر کی روشوں پر چلیں۔ مخزن ہمیں درس تنقید دینے کا وعدہ کرتا ہے اور ہمیں اڈیٹر صاحب کی طبع سلیم کے اس بیش بہا تحفہ کے قبول کرنے میں کچھ سوچ درکار نہیں۔ ہاں فن تنقید اس کی نسبت کچھ اور کہنا مقصود ہے۔ نکتہ چینی بری تو بے شک ہے لیکن ایسی تقریظ جو محض تعریف پر مشتمل ہو اس سے بدرجہا بدتر ہے۔ نکتہ چینی سے تو صرف مصنف کا دل دکھایا جاتا ہے لیکن تقریظ سے غیر مفید اور ناقابل قدر کتابوں کی تعداد بڑھائی جاتی ہے اور جو مطالعہ کتب کے شائق ہیں ان کے قیمتی وقت کا خون کیا جاتا ہے۔ تنقید جیسے کہ اڈیٹر صاحب نے اپنے مضمون میں بیان کیا تھا ایک کسوٹی ہے جس پر کہ کھوٹا اور کھرا پرکھا جاتا ہے۔ لیکن اتنا کہنے سے فن تنقید کی ماہیت نہیں کھلی۔ اس کا اصول یہ ہے کہ انسان کو اس کی موجودہ حالت سے اعلیٰ حالت پر پہنچا جاوے۔ اس

لئے یہ سب علوم و فنون پر حاوی ہے۔ کیونکہ غائت ان کی بھی یہی ہے کہ سلسلہ ترقی بنی نوع کو اس معراج کمال پر پہنچا جاوے کہ دنیا و مافیہا ایک بہشت کا نمونہ بلکہ بہشت بن جاویں۔ نقاد کا فرض ہے کہ حضرت انسان کو عالم ملکوت تک پہچانے کی تدابیر سوچے۔ مصوری میں مانی و بہزاد کا نام تو شہرہ آفاق ہے لیکن نقادان اصول مصوری یہ قرار دیتے ہیں کہ مصور تصویروں میں فطرت کے کرشمے دکھائے نہ نیچر کے اسرار سمجھائے' دقائق روحانی حل کرے۔ خدا کی خدائی کی شان بس ایک لکیر میں اس طرح بتا جائے کہ سب کو اس کا فقیر بنا لے۔ ہمارے رسوم و رواج کے خاکے یوں کھینچے کہ خود بخود ان کی اصلاح ہونی شروع ہو جاوے۔ اگر وہ ایسا کرے تو ضرور ہے کہ آسمانی برکتیں اس کے ہنر پر نثار ہوں۔ بت تراشوں کی حکمت یہ ہے کہ آسمانی خیالات کے نقشے پتھر کی رگیں کاٹ کر کھینچیں۔ صنائع کا جلوہ ایک موہنی مورت میں دکھاویں۔ نغمہ و سرور کے استادوں کی خوبی یہ ہے کہ سروں کی ترکیب ایسی رکھیں کہ کبھی تو عقدہ عشق ازلی حالت محویت میں حل ہو جائے۔ کبھی مسئلہ اخوات بنی اراز کھلجاوں ان قوی جذبات کو طاقت بخشیں جو منبع افعال حسنہ ہیں۔ ان خواہشات نفسانی کو روکیں جو منبع اعمال ذمیہ ہیں اگر نقاد سجن ہو تو ایسا کہ مخنوروں کو طبقات اعلیٰ کی طرف رہنمائی کرے اور ایک ایسے جہان کا نقشہ کھینچ دکھاوے جو مکروہات دنیا سے پاک' نقائص سے خالی اور مبرا ہو۔ ہدائت کی مشعل ہاتھ میں لئے پکارتا جائے "ہاں بڑھے چلو" یہی اصول باقی علوم و فنون کی تنقید پر صادق آتا ہے۔ غرض یہ کہ غائت فن تنقید ترقی بنی نوع انسان ہے۔

(مخزن بابت فروری 1902)

علم الحسن والتحسین

یوں تو ایشیائی لٹریچر حسن و عشق کے تذکروں اور تلازموں سے اس قدر پر ہے کہ کچھ ٹھکانا ہی نہیں۔ مگر علم الحسن و التحسین پر ابھی تک ہماری نظر سے کوئی ایسی کتاب نہیں گذری جس میں حسن و عشق کی ماہیت پر فلسفیانہ اور حکیمانہ طور پر بحث کی گئی ہو۔ اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ ایشیائی شاعری الف سے ی تک حسن و عشق کی ہی رام کہانی ہے اور کئی نیچرل اشعار اس مضمون پر لکھے گئے ہیں۔

مگر نہ تو حسن کے اصول قائم کئے گئے ہیں نہ اس کی شناخت کے وسائل بتلائے گئے ہیں اور نہ ہی مشاہدہ حسن سے ایسے اصول عامہ اخذ کئے گئے ہیں جنہیں کہ علمی طور پر خوبصورت بنانے میں (تحسن) استعمال کیا جا سکے اور بنی نوع انسان کو علم تمدن میں مدد ملے۔ یہ علم خوبصورت اشیاء پر بحث کرتا ہے جس کی ماہیت حسین و حالت تحسین وغیرہ سے معلوم کرتا ہے۔ اور اس علم کی غایت اشیاء کو قابل تحسین بنانے کے وسائل ڈھونڈتا ہے۔ دیگر علوم مثل تمدن و اخلاق کا انحصار اسی علم کے اصول پر ہے۔ چند اصول متعلقہ حکمت کے بیان سے یہ ظاہر ہو جاوے گا۔

1- بنی نوع انسان بالخاصہ مدنی الطبع ہیں۔ سیاست مدن۔

2- بنی نوع انسان بحیثیت فردی مختلف الطبع ہیں۔ سیاست اخلاق و نظام طبقات الافراد۔

3- ہر فرد بشر کسی چیز کو تو پسند کرتا ہے اور کسی سے نفرت کرتا ہے۔ اصول محبت و نفرت کا تھا۔ جسے امپیلنڈاسل ہم عصر فیثاغورث نے بصراحت بیان کیا تھا اور قرار دیا تھا کہ عالم نظام کا موجب ہی یہ انس و نفرت ہے۔ قبیلوں میں جمع ہو کر رہنا۔ گاؤں قصبوں شہروں میں رہنا۔ کسی خاص سے بیاہ کرنا چن چن کر بعضوں سے رابطہ و اتحاد قائم کرنا۔ سلطنتوں کا کسی سے صلح اور کسی سے لڑائی کرنا۔ یہ سب انہیں اصولوں پر مبنی ہیں۔

اس جگہ ہم سیاست تحسن و تحسین پر بحث کریں گے۔

خوبصورت ہے! یہ خوبصورتی کیا ہے؟ روضہ تاج محل کی عظمت، کشمیر کی پہاڑیوں کا دلفریب نظارہ۔ پیرس کے بازاروں کی کیفیت۔ ایک نازنین عورت کا جمال۔ گلاب کا پھول۔ صدا کے بلبل اور چادر مہتاب۔ یہ سب دل میں کچھ ایسا سرور ڈال دیتی ہیں جسے ہم کیفیت مشاہدہ حسن کہتے ہیں۔ یہ ہی نہیں داغ یا میر کا کوئی پھڑکتا ہوا شعر۔ کوئی نفیس لے یا سر۔ ادائے معشوقانہ۔ یہ سب ایسی چیزیں ہیں جو دل کو بے اختیار گرویدہ کر لیتی ہیں۔ ان سب میں کیا جادو بھرا ہے؟ اگر یہ اسرار ہاتھ لگ جاوے تو کیا اکسیر سے کم ہے؟ میرے پیارے دوست نیرنگ نے حسن و عشق کا مکالمہ لکھا تھا۔ اور ان خیالات کو ظاہر کیا تھا جو کہ ایشیائی تیز و طرار

طبائع میں قدرتاً" موجود ہوتے ہیں۔ حسن بغیر عشق کے۔ بدصوانی اور عشق بغیر حسن کے ناممکن۔ یوں ہی کہا کرتے ہیں۔ اور ساتھ ہی یہ بھی پچ لگا دیا کرتے ہیں کہ لیلیٰ را بچشم مجنوں باید دید۔

جو باریکیاں کہ اہل صفا عشق کی بحث میں ڈال دیتے ہیں۔ ان کا تحریر کرنا دشوار تو ہوتا ہے لیکن ایسا دشوار نہیں جیسا کہ ان کا سمجھنا۔ اگر کسی اور نے تحریر کی ہوں۔ اور خاص کر جیسا کہ ان کا اوروں کو سمجھانا۔

یہاں ہم اسی ادق مضمون کو حتی الامکان آسان فہم پیرا کو۔

حسن کا وجود حسین چیز میں پایا جاتا ہے اور حسین چیز وہ ہے جس کی کہ مشاہدہ کرنے والے تحسین کریں۔ کیا حسن کا وجود ایسا نہیں ہے کہ نظریار آئیں اور اس سے محظوظ ہو لیں؟ یا حسن صرف ایک رنگ ہے جو کہ تحسین کنندہ کی ذات سے پھڑک کر الگ ہو جاتا ہے اور کائنات میں سے کسی ایک کو حسین بنا دیتا ہے؟ کیا تحسین اندھا دھند طور پر کسی کے جا گلے پڑتی ہے یا خاص اشیاء ایسی واقع ہوتی ہیں کہ وہ اسے کھینچ لیتی ہیں؟

خوبصورتی کی تعریف ایک یورپین نقاد سخن نے یوں کی ہے۔ "حسن کسی چیز کی وہ خاصیت ہے جس سے کہ وہ چیز صاحب مذاق سلیم کو مرغوب اور بھلی معلوم دیتی ہے۔" لیکن مذاق سلیم پھر تعریف طلب رہا۔ اور اس کی تعریف یہی بن پڑتی ہے کہ جس سے حسن کی ٹھیک کیفیت کھلتی ہے۔

بعض محققین کا یہ خیال ہے کہ حس حسن قوت باصرہ شامہ یا سامعہ کی طرح ہی ہے۔ ہم سرخ سفید سیاہ رنگوں کو دیکھتے ہیں۔ گلاب چمپا۔ موتیا سونگھتے ہیں۔ ایسے ہی شور۔ چیخ کو راگ سے تمیز کر سکتے ہیں۔ اور اسی طرح مختلف خوبصورتیوں سے محظوظ ہوتے ہیں۔

یہ ایک ایسی رائے ہے جس کے کہ صحیح تسلیم کرنے میں بہت سی دقتیں ہیں۔ قوت باصرہ کو ہی لیجئے۔ وہ کالی گھٹا آئی۔ جو لوگ کہ نور بصیرت رکھتے ہیں۔ یہ کبھی نہ کہیں گے کہ یہ گھٹا کالی نہیں بلکہ سفید ہے۔ روشنی کو کوئی سیاہی بتا سکتا ہے؟ قوت ذائقہ لیجئے۔ بھلا کونین یا نیم کے پتوں کو کوئی بھی میٹھا بتائے گا؟ لیکن مکتب

عشق میں جنہوں نے تعلیم پائی ہے ان کی روش ہی کچھ انوکھی ہے۔ مجنوں تو لیلیٰ پر مفتون ہے اور میاں رانجھا ہیر پر لٹو اور روز مرہ زندگی میں بھی دیکھتے ہیں کہ شیخ و شاب پر کسی کو حسن کا کچھ ایسا جادو چل جاتا ہے کہ یاروں کی نصیحت سے بیزار ہو جاتے ہیں۔ دوستوں سے کنارہ کشی ہے اور حسن قذاق کی کہ جس نے دل کو چھین لیا ہے تسبیح پڑھ رہے ہیں۔ اچھے بھلے یاروں کے یار تھے۔ مگر اک ادا نے کچھ حضرت کی ایسی کایا پلٹ دی ہے کہ ان کی حرکات و سکنات و عادات ہی بدل گئے ہیں۔ مذاق حسن ایک ہی ملک میں کسی کا کچھ ہے تو کسی کا کچھ اور پشت بہ پشت صدی بہ صدی بدلتا رہتا ہے۔ اور مختلف ممالک میں تو خوبصورتی اور بدصورتی میں ہی تمیز نہیں رہتی۔

جوانان ہند یورپ کی بجی سجائی لیڈیوں پر تو مفتون ہونے کو تیار ہیں۔ مگر یہ تو بتائیں کہ کسی جشن معشوقانہ پر بھی نثار کرنے کو مستعد ہیں اور ایسے ہی پنجاب میں بعض زیورات حسن کو دوبالا کرنے کے لئے ضروری سمجھے جاتے تھے اب انہیں چنداں پسند نہیں کیا جاتا۔ ہلکی پھلکی قمیضوں کو بڑے کام کی پوششوں پر ترجیح دی جاتی ہے۔ گو ہمارے باپ بلور کے برتنوں کو پسند کرتے ہیں۔

سو اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ بعض عاشق مزاجوں کو تو کسی چیز میں اس قدر حسن نظر آتا ہے کہ وہ جان و دل سے قربان ہوئے جاتے ہیں لیکن اور عاشق مزاج ہیں کہ انہیں اسی چیز میں کسی خاص خوبصورتی کا پتہ نہیں چلتا۔ اگر حسن کی کوئی حس ہو تو کیا ایسے تعجب انگیز اختلاف مشاہدہ میں آئیں۔

دوسرے یہ کہ تمام سادہ خواص مانند رنگ و بو جو کسی ایک شئے میں پائی جائیں جب کسی اور میں پائی جائیں۔ تو وہ وہی رنگ و بو ہی ہوں گے۔ اگر چند چیزیں سفید ہوں تو سفیدی ان کی ایک مشترکہ صفت ہے۔ سفید بادل۔ سفید کمرہ۔ سفید عورت۔ سفید لباس گو کہ بالکل مختلف چیزیں ہیں۔ لیکن سفیدی کی صفت جو ان میں پائی جاتی ہے وہ ایک ہی سفیدی ہے۔ مگر جو خوبی کہ چادر مہتاب' غزل داغ الحسن داؤدی میں پائی جاتی ہے خوبی تو وہ ہی ہے لیکن مانند سفید رنگ کے یہ ایسا ایک وصف نہیں ہے جسے ہم تعین کر سکیں۔

شکل کی ہی خوبصورتی کو لو۔ خوبصورت عورت' خوبصورت جھاڑ' خوبصورت فانوس' خوبصورت درخت' لیکن عورت کی شکل کو درخت کی شکل سے کیا مناسبت! اور اگر ایک پھڑکتا ہوا شعر بھی وہی حالت طاری کر دیتا ہے جو کہ نظارہ جمال یار تو کیا ہم یہ نہ کہیں گے کہ خوبصورتی مادی اشیاء میں بھی موجود ہے۔ اور صرف ترتیب خیالات میں بھی پائی جاتی ہے؟

اس کے جواب میں یہ کہا جا سکتا ہے "کہ حسن وہ صفت ہے جس سے کہ کوئی چیز دل کو مانوس معلوم دیتی ہے۔" لیکن مانوس ہونا خوبصورت دکھائی دینے سے بھی زیادہ تر عام حالت ہے۔ سو جو جواب کہ دیا گیا تھا ہمیں کچھ بھی مدد نہیں دیتا۔ اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ حلوا کھانے کو دل چاہتا ہے۔ کیونکہ وہ میٹھا ہوتا ہے۔ لیکن اس کے میٹھا ہونے کی یہ وجہ نہیں کہ وہ مانوس ہے۔ اسی طرح کسی چیز کا مانوس ہونا اس کے خوبصورت ہونے کی دلیل نہیں ہو سکتا۔

مزید بریں اول بہت سی چیزیں ایسی ہیں جن سے طبیعت مانوس ہے مگر وہ خوبصورت نہیں ہیں۔ مثلاً تھکان کے بعد آرام۔ معمولی سی ورزش۔ مزیدار غذا۔ گو کہ یہ سب خوشگوار ہیں۔ تو بھی انہیں ہم خوبصورت نہیں کہہ سکتے۔ عزت افزائی۔ شہرت عام۔ ثروت' دانائی یہ سب ایسی چیزیں ہیں۔ جن کے لئے طبیعت للچاتی ہے مگر یہ نہیں کہیں گے کہ یہ خوبصورت ہیں۔

دوم مختلف چیزوں کے خوشگوار معلوم دینے کی ایک ہی وجہ نہیں ہوتی۔ ورنہ آم کا مزا۔ موتیا کی خوشبو اور وصل معشوق کی کیفیت ایک ہی طرح کیونکر خوشگوار ہوں کیونکہ خوشگوار ہونا یا مانوس ہونا کسی چیز کی خاصیت نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ طبع انسان پر جو اثر ڈالا جاتا ہے اس کا نام ہے۔ اس سے ظاہر ہے کہ کوئی خاص حس ان چیزوں کے لئے مخصوص نہیں ہے۔

ہاں بعض اشیاء قوت شامہ کو پسند ہیں تو بعض قوت ذائقہ اور بعض قوت باصرہ کو اور بعض قوت متخیلہ کو' انہیں ہم خوبصورت نہیں کہتے۔ لیکن بعض مذاق حسن کے مطابق آن پڑتی ہیں تو انہیں ہم خوبصورت کہتے ہیں۔ تو یہ مذاق حسن ہے کیا چیز؟ (مخزن بابت اکتوبر 1902ء)

Section 3

SPEECHES IN THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL 1916 - 1920

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS, 2ND SEPTEMBER 1916

TEACHING AND STUDY OF VERNACULARS

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "Your Honour, the resolution, of which I gave notice under the rules for the discussion of matters of general public interest in the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was very kindly admitted by you, and now I beg to move as follows :-

" 'This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that a Committee, including non-officials, be appointed to enquire whether the teaching and study of vernaculars in our schools are on a satisfactory basis, and if not, what defects exist, and what are their causes and remedies, more particularly in regard to the methods of teachings, preparation of text-books, and the time devoted to the imparting of instruction in vernaculars.'

In order to avoid misapprehension, it seems to me desirable to explain the meaning of the resolution. The term 'Vernaculars' does not mean Urdu only; in this resolution, as in the Punjab Education Code, it stands for Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi. I want also to make it clear that it does not include classical languages — Sanskrit, Arabic and

Persian. I have not included the classical languages in my resolution, because the vernaculars occupy a unique position which the classical languages in this Province at least do not; and by far the largest number of pupils never learn a classical language, while all have to learn a vernacular; because during the first few years of a pupil's school career, he learns no other language than his vernacular; and the importance of laying a good and sound foundation in education, as in construction of buildings cannot be over-estimated; again, because in a system reforms can be effected only gradually, and if the scope of enquiry is very wide, there is considerable difficulty in dealing with numerous issues that arise; and lastly, because a big and ambitious scheme, very often, is shelved or falls through, because it is very big and very complicated. It seems to me that if pupils possess a good knowledge of their vernacular, they are very likely to acquire a good knowledge of other languages, including English, more rapidly, and it seems to me that having once become possessed of a vehicle of thought they will be in a position to import and export ideas more efficiently and economically.

"Now what is meant by the expression 'Schools'? So far as this resolution is concerned, obviously the institutions where the vernaculars are taught — and these are simply Primary Schools and Middle Schools. The High Schools do not come in — for the vernaculars do not constitute a 'compulsory' subject in their curriculum. They constitute, to use a rather regrettable expression, 'optional' subjects. The meaning of 'optional' subject is that you can fail in this subject with impunity, without failing in the examination of which it forms a part. So far as the Matriculation Examination is concerned, not more than half the students take up a vernacular as an optional subject. Therefore I have considered it but right to exclude the High School so far as the present discussion is concerned. I have just to mention that this resolution concerns a very large number of pupils who are now

receiving instruction in our schools. My figures are taken from the Report on the Progress of Education for the year 1914-15.

In the Lower Primary standard there are	...	2,66,000 pupils.
In the Upper Primary standard there are	...	66,000 pupils.
In the Middle Department there are	...	33,000 pupils.
		3,65,000 in all.

Of these only 18,800 read English as well. This will show the importance of the subject irrespective of the question of English or the medium of teaching to be used for the purpose of imparting instruction in English. In other words, what I want this Council to do is to recommend to His Honour that a searching enquiry be made to find out whether with reference to 3,65,000 pupils that are supposed to be receiving efficient instruction in vernaculars, we are really doing what we are expected to do, whether the study and instruction imparted in these schools are on a satisfactory basis? There is just one point more on which I want to make my position clear — the question of the medium of instruction so far as other subjects in the scheme of studies are concerned. This question presents some difficulty no doubt, but I am not at present concerned with Lord Macaulay's memorable minute of 2nd February 1853, upon which the celebrated Resolution of the Government of India is based, nor am I inclined to discuss Lord William Bentinck's policy, nor the views expressed by experts and amateurs during the last decade for the very simple reason that the question does not arise so far as my resolution is concerned. In the Primary Department and in Vernacular Middle Schools,

there are about 3 lakhs of pupils, and obviously there the question of medium of instruction does not arise; and in the case of Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools, already the medium of instruction is vernacular in all classes but the last — 3rd Middle; and for the purposes of this discussion the matter is of no consequence, firstly, because the number affected is no more than three thousand or so, and, secondly, because, if during the first seven years the teaching and study of vernaculars are on a satisfactory basis, it is quite immaterial whether during the 8th year vernacular is used as the medium of instruction or not.

"Your Honour, I hope I have made clear what the subject matter of my resolution is by pointing out what falls within its scope and what does not. Now I propose to say a few words as to the Government policy regarding matters educational. As to primary education, it is definitely laid down that adequate arrangements should be made to meet all the demand for it. The Punjab Government has gone even further and called upon its officers to create demand, by encouraging and even persuading people to send their children to schools. Your Honour has always welcomed the great expansion of educational institutions that has recently taken place. It stands to reason that an ignorant citizen is an economic loss to his country and the Government, and it is in the interests of the country and its Government that the youthful citizens receive adequate education, develop the necessary wish to live well, and in consequence learn to exert themselves to secure the wherewithal of a healthy comfortable life. Education, and education alone, can create that divine discontent which leads to the economic efficiency of the citizen, and eventually enables the country to take its proper place in the civilized world.

"As to secondary and higher education, let the demand grow in volume and intensity, and I have no doubt

that the Government will continue to be willing and even anxious to help in making arrangements to satisfy it.

"I have, Your Honour, made this digression, because even the repetition of your often given assurances is encouraging and helpful, and I am sure we all very deeply appreciate the keen desire on the part of Your Honour's Government to do all that can be done for the real educational advancement of the Province. In 1912, when reviewing the Quinquennial Report, Your Honour was very naturally struck by the rapid increase in the number of pupils attending Primary Schools. In the educational reports for the following years it is gratifying that the rate of increase has been, if anything, more rapid. To adopt Your Honour's mode of marking the growth of primary education — out of every 100 boys of school-going age, in 1882, only 6 went to school; in 1907, 12 went to school; and in 1912 as many as 17. In 1914 the number rose to 22, and in 1915 we find that the number rose still further to the figure of 24. Ordinarily this would mean that instead of coming across one possessor of the three R.'s, you would find now four. If this were so, I venture to submit you would have every reason to be very proud of the educational advancement that these increases show, but I am afraid I cannot say that this really is the case. Out of 3,32,000 pupils in the Primary Schools, 2,66,000 are in the Lower Primary stage, and I have a suspicion that not more than 20 per cent. of these really qualify themselves as having passed the 3rd Primary class examination. In other words, I believe that the large numbers that we find in the Lower Primary classes do not go beyond the first and second year of their school life. In the Upper Primary Department, there are only 66,000 pupils, and of these about half go up to the Middle Department, and as for the High Department barely one-fourth of those in the Middle Department strength reach it. In other words, only 9,000 out of nearly 4 lakhs of pupils are in the High Department qualifying for the Matriculation Examination. In the figures

for four years, 1905, 1912, 1914 and 1915, we find the number of pupils in different stages *i.e.*, the High stage, the Middle stage, the Upper Primary stage and the Lower Primary stage, is as follows :-

"In 1905 in the High stage there were 4,767. In 1912 it is gratifying to note the number rose to 7,467, in 1914 to 8,000, and in 1915 to 9,000. This is the number that is receiving higher secondary education in the schools. So far as the Middle stage is concerned, in 1905 there were 18,376; in 1912, 27,169; in 1914, 30,000; and in 1915 33,000. In the Upper Primary stage in 1905 there were 35,916; in 1912, 51,426; in 1914, 61,000; and in 1915, 66,000. In the Lower Primary stage there were in 1905, 1,33,028; in 1912, 2,29,903; in 1914, 2,60,000; and in 1915, 2,66,000. That is to say, it is the Lower Primary stage which swells the numbers. Is it to be considered as imparting education, *i.e.*, giving some literacy to the persons concerned and effecting some sort of change? By some sort of change I mean, well, you can see that a man who has been for three years in a school is a better man than the one who has not been to school for the same term,— whether there has been an appreciable change in his efficiency, in his economic efficiency, in his efficiency as a citizen of the State. Now how does the Lower primary education stand? For it is there that we find that quite 74 per cent. of the pupils begin and end their educational careers. Now we all know how keen the Departments are on the question of efficiency, but it is generally left to an amateur or one fresh to the work to see when things are not as they ought to be. I will not venture to pass an opinion on the efficiency of these schools myself, but will quote Mr. Wathen, Inspector of Schools, at the time. He says — 'Of the quality of teaching generally in Primary Schools it is difficult to form an estimate. *Efficient they certainly are not*, but when sometimes a teacher has to struggle manfully with some forty boys, whose ages range from sixteen to four and whose capacities vary accordingly, and when

some of the boys are not even capable of flicking the flies from their faces, it is a cause of wonder, not that they are well taught, but that they learn anything at all. However the teacher by an unconscious application of Montessori methods and by a generous use of the rod does after five years send out from his school boys who have a tolerable knowledge of the three Rs'. Many boys it appears who leave school after three years soon forget to write anything but their names. But these have been sent to school, because the school provides a cheap and handy nursery.' Now, Your Honour, is there any good in the Lower Primary instruction for over two lakhs of pupils? For the gift of being able to write one's name is of doubtful advantage, and a thumb impression had been judicially pronounced to be in every way a safer and superior method of connecting one's self with what is written above it. The only justification given by Mr. Wathen is that the schools provide a 'cheap and handy nursery'. This remark, which has the beauty of being ingenious as well as ingenuous, is worthy of careful consideration. This ingenious explanation shows that the economic conditions prevailing in villages are such that they admit of even the conception of a nursery, while as a matter of fact an Indian child in a village ordinarily grows up more or less in the state of nature — altogether unrestrained by human interference. The expression 'cheap and handy nursery' also shows that the Inspecting Officer was not fully cognisant of the value of money as understood by the village folk, for the whole of the village constitutes but one nursery, and no supervising nurse is needed to hold charge of it. But there is a great deal of truth underlying this remark. It is this. Can you serially say that the teachers employed in these Primary Schools are efficient ? Can it possibly be said that they are efficient ? If not, can it be seriously maintained that with their qualifications and their pay they can reasonably be expected to be efficient? The Director of Public Instruction is fully cognisant of the fact that over and above the pay these village school teachers get, they have no

other means of eking out their subsistence, as are generally supposed to be available to other branches of service like those of Patwaris, subordinate Police officials and even ahlkars in Courts; and does he recognize the fact that 99 percent. of his teachers would leave his department for any other of the departments maintained by Government on smaller pay, only if afforded the chance to do so? My point is that these schools if they are but nurseries in the sense used by Mr. Wathen, they should be called as such, and let the people know that they are but nurseries, and you will find that they are soon deserted, and the number of three lakhs will possibly dwindle down to one-tenth of what it is now. The villager, as has been once before remarked in this Council to-day, is not quite a fool. He knows that if by sending his boy to school, say, for three or five years, he gains thereby in the sense that man is going to be economically a good investment, he will do it, but not otherwise. I contend that the villager will find some use even for the urchin who cannot flick flies from his face. I think the educational movement is in serious danger of receiving a severe-check and becoming more than ever unpopular if the villagers find that when they have spared their children from work for three or five years in the hope that the immediate loss will be made good by an increase in their future economic value, in their earning capacity, a hope which is quite reasonable and natural, and that there is no return for the money spent, surely the educational movement will receive a set-back. Under these circumstances, is not the Hon'ble Member-in-charge, in the interests of the present efficiency and future advancement of primary education, inclined to have this matter enquired into? Can he say that all is well and satisfactory? Can he explain why in his Primary Department out of three lakhs and thirty thousand pupils, only one-fifth are in the Upper Primary Department? Is it because these institutions are not efficient? I simply want to know. I have looked in vain into the departmental reports for enlightenment. My object is to find out whether our much-vaunted progress is

real. What I have just said, I venture to think, establishes a *prima facie* case for a careful investigation into this matter.

'Now let me approach the Middle stage of education on the vernacular side. We notice that the standard of knowledge is not at all commensurate with the amount of time spent. The products of our schools are not as good as they used to be—this is the general complaint. How far the deterioration has gone it is very difficult to say, but it can hardly be said to be unexpected, inasmuch as the fall in the efficiency of the Primary Department was bound to be reflected in the Middle Department; and that in course of time will produce less efficient teachers, and thus things will tend to grow worse rapidly.

"Now let us for a moment examine the Anglo-Vernacular classes—the two Upper Primary and the three Middle classes. Here the study of vernaculars is in a most awful plight. In order to determine the position which the vernaculars should occupy in the scheme of studies in Anglo-Vernacular Schools, it should be remembered that the products of these schools are to act as channels for the inflow of western culture and thought, and this is the reason why the Indians want these schools to afford a good knowledge of English. Now it seems to me that when our object is that the products of these schools should through the medium of their vernaculars bring western knowledge to the Indian mind, how can any scheme of studies, which does not safeguard the achievement of this object be considered suitable? Let me just for a moment try to give you an impression of the knowledge of an average matriculate. He cannot write a fairly accurate letter in his own vernacular, and mistakes of expression and grammar one might have overlooked, but there are howlers of spelling, and the handwriting is something shocking. Very frequently he is not able to mend his own pen: and this is the man who without any further knowledge of his verna-

cular is expected to enrich it with all the sciences of the West. I may here remind the Hon'ble Members that the learning and teaching of vernaculars come to an end with the school course. The case of one who has been reading for his Bachelor or Master's Degree is still more deplorable. He has been for four or six years improving his knowledge of English, and laboriously gathering the store of western knowledge, and by the time he takes his Bachelor's or Master's Degree, his knowledge of his vernacular has, if anything, deteriorated, and the things have come to such a pass that this weakness is in evidence in official records that are prepared by Government officials. I am sorry my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Sheo Narain is not here to-day, otherwise I feel sure he would have given my resolution not only his weighty support, but also cited many specific instances of the howlers in the current judicial literature in vernacular, as he is gifted with a wonderfully retentive memory for them. My own intimate knowledge of the Punjab students enables me to say that things were bad enough fifteen years ago, but they are certainly worse now. I have been hearing this complaint for a number of years, and that was the reason why I sent in this complaint for a number of years, and that was the reason why I sent in this resolution from the solitudes of Salogra, but I must confess that till the publication of the resolution I was not at all aware that the complaint is so very general and so keenly felt. The English Press has extended its sympathies to the Resolution, and the Vernacular Press, possibly from interested motives, has given it quite an ovation. If any more evidence is needed to establish a *prima facie* case for an enquiry, it is forthcoming from the Hon'ble Member-in charge. In connection with the Educational Conference held in Allahabad in 1911, in his note on the Differentiation of the Curriculum in Secondary Schools, he wrote :-' In the Punjab scheme of studies one-third of the school time is assigned to English. The subsidiary subjects, except Mathematics, are of small account in comparison.' And again: 'The supremacy of

English must continue so long as a knowledge of the language is not merely a key to Government service and well paid private employment, but to the learning and literature of western countries.' This is to my mind a clear confession of the charge that I am bringing against the present state of affairs. I may mention in passing that the knowledge of the language by means of which the learning and literature of western countries are to be made accessible to the people is not given the importance which it deserves; in other words, the poor vernacular has been looked down upon and this is the charge I bring not only against the Government, but also against the people. It is fairly obvious that the general principles of hygiene and sanitation if known to the fifty thousand or so, who will be distributed over thickly-populated areas in towns, will be of no avail to the masses. Any scheme of studies for our schools which fails to give the forefront seat to the vernacular stands to my mind self-condemned. I have turned to the Annual Report of Progress of Education in the Punjab, but have not been able to detect any reference therein which would show that the subject is treated as one of some importance. Vernaculars have suffered from condemnable neglect on the part of all concerned, and now we have begun to reap the harvest of our mistakes. Even now it is time to put our house in order."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain :- " I am very grateful to the Hon'ble Member in charge for the reception he has given to this resolution and for his acknowledging that there are very serious defects, and that all is not well with Primary education. He has pointed out that it would be better if a General Educational Conference precedes the appointment of a committee and expresses its opinion on the subject of this resolution. I fully realise the importance of the subject, and in view of that I am perfectly willing to amend the resolution as desired. I would place the amended resolution for the consideration of the Council---

" That this Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that a General Educational Conference be summoned to report whether in their opinion the teaching and study of vernaculars in our schools are on a satisfactory basis, and, if not, whether a committee should be appointed to report what defects exist and what are their causes and remedies, more particularly in regard to the method of teaching, preparation of text-books, and the time devoted to imparting instruction in vernaculars."

The motion in its amended form was put and agreed to.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS 6th NOVEMBER, 1917

RESOLUTION RE-IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND THE LOWER PRIMARY DEPARTMENT, AND FURTHER EXPANSION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain :- Your Honour I beg to move the following resolution standing in my name, that "This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that the condition of the primary schools, and especially of the Lower Primary Department, be improved and that further expansion of primary education should take place through the improved schools."

By the term "primary schools", Your Honour, I mean vernacular schools which almost entirely exist in villages. The resolution does not concern the Anglo-primary schools which exit in towns, cities, or in big villages which claim to be almost towns. Primary schools are the agency for imparting what is known as primary education, and these are the only schools with which this resolution is concerned. It has now been admitted on all hands that the

first and foremost duty of Government is to impart primary education to such an extent that the percentage of literacy is considerably raised. Now what is the exact scope of primary education? Whatever divergence of opinion on that point may be, it is clear that a person who has been through a primary school course should be able to read and write in vernacular, know a little arithmetic and also know what is termed as "General Knowledge," that is to say, elementary principles of hygiene, sanitation and a little geography and history. In upper primary schools there are five classes, that is to say, five standards, five different sections in the school, or five lots of pupils having different standards. In such a class there are so many subjects taught. I believe a very large number of members of this Council will be rather surprised to hear that in these primary schools there are about 40 or 50 students and as many as 5 or 4 classes—, and so many subjects to be taught in each class. The work is entrusted to one individual, and that one man has to attend to *all* the classes and has to teach them *all* the subjects. I myself was very much surprised when I learnt that. The Hon'ble Members will be further surprised to hear that the wonderful man who is doing all this work is drawing not more than Rs. 15 a month. That is his pay. Now, this wonderful man who is drawing Rs. 15 a month and imparting primary education to 50 odd boys in 5 different standards and in 4 or 5 subjects to each standard, must be really a wonderful man to do this work efficiently. It is not my object in connection with this resolution to dwell upon the products of these schools who have passed the fifth primary standard, whether they are good or bad. I am more or less satisfied with the products of these schools. By products I mean those who have appeared in the test and obtained a certificate of having passed the examination.

I simply want to refer the Hon'ble Members to the figures quoted by the Hon'ble Member in charge of education this morning. Now there are statistics available only for

two years, that is to say, is for years 1911 and 1916, but, those figures are most eloquent. In the year 1911 there were in all about 260,000 students in the primary department. Of these half the number are in the lowest class and the other half is distributed unequally in the four higher standards. I was under the impression that possibly during the last five years matters had improved, that is to say, the number of students in the higher standards had gone up, but I am sorry to notice that the last five years have really made no change at all. Now, instead of 130,000 students being in the lowest class in the primary schools there are 160,000, that is to say, in these primary schools the number of students in the lowest class has risen by 30,000. There has been no very great increase in the higher classes. How is this to be explained? Why is it that in the lowest class there are such a large number of students who never go to the higher classes. Now it has been stated that the parents of a large number of the students in the lowest class are not particular to send them higher and remove them after a year and that as soon as the pupils are grown up they are taken out and put to other work. Now, is this removal due to the schooling being inefficient, or is it due to the fact that they are grown up and put to the field? Has the nursery proved entirely useless to impart any education to the pupils? and is it a fact that they remained in this nursery more than a year without learning anything and their parents thought that the children could learn as much in their own homes and that, therefore, there was no use keeping them in the school. There can be no doubt that the condition of this dumping ground is very bad. We are about to make primary education compulsory. We are all agreed on that. What will be the result? Supposing the number of students increased on account of this compulsory primary education movement tenfold. If the present agency for imparting primary education remains in its present condition you simply multiply the number of pupils in the lowest class to 13 lakhs? It is only one-fourth nearly of the pupils that travel from the lowest class to the

class next higher in the primary schools. When you increase the number of schools and make education compulsory the result will be that in the lowest class you will find 13 lakhs of students of whom 10 lakhs will be wasting their time. Is it fair, when you are making attendance at schools compulsory? It seems to me that it is not only compelling the people to send their children to school but it is only wasting the time of their children. There is no justification for making primary education compulsory unless the machinery for imparting it is improved. Now, why is it that their efficiency is not up to the proper standard? There are two reasons. The first is that the staff is utterly inadequate in number. You cannot expect one man to tackle such a large number of standards. It is impossible to do it efficiently. In the second place teachers of superior qualifications should be engaged. You must multiply your staff by 3, or if you multiply it by 2 you must also improve their quality. This can be done by providing increased accommodation at normal schools and by improving the pay and prospects of the teachers. It is generally stated that a man is worth the money that he gets and that these teachers, who are given Rs. 15 a month, would not take the job if the pay were too low. This argument has only recently been refuted by Mr. Fisher most eloquently. I am, Sir, reading from the speech of Mr. Fisher :--

"We feel that no system of public education can be satisfactory which does not repose on the cooperation of a body of devoted, capable and well trained teachers, and that the first step towards educational reforms is to attract good men and women into the teaching profession. The Government has come to the conclusion that the financial position of the teachers in our elementary schools is unsatisfactory and that it should be improved and to this end a large additional sum of money has been recently voted by Parliament for elementary education. We do not intend that this grant should be spent in relief of rates. We

propose that it should be chiefly spent on the augmentation of teachers' salaries. *It is sometimes urged that the education given in the schools is not good enough to justify higher salaries. That is a vicious circle. You cannot get good education without good teachers and you cannot get good teachers unless you are prepared to pay for them.* We have thought fit to indicate the minimum salary which should be paid to certificated and uncertificated teachers. We cannot allow teachers in our national schools to be exploited at a starvation wage. And here, let me add, that I shall not consider that I have placed the financial position of the teaching profession on a satisfactory basis till I have succeeded in securing adequate pensions for all classes of teachers."

The argument which has been rightly stigmatised by Mr. Fisher as 'a vicious circle' has been a favourite one here, and has been responsible for keeping the pay of teachers in the Primary Department as well as in other Departments, where it is. It is urged that the teacher is not fit for any higher salary, but it is forgotten that there is such a thing as "exploiting at starvation wages." That is what has been done not only by Government but also by private agencies, denominational institutions, and so on. I trust that the figures that I have quoted are enough to support the resolution., In the interests of primary education as it is to be imparted in the near future through the agency of compulsory education, it is absolutely necessary to improve the condition of our primary schools.

The masses at present are willing to go to schools to receive primary education, and the educated classes in this country are very anxious that primary education be made as universal as possible, and the Government is also anxious that it should be done. But, in my humble opinion, if the present defects are not removed, if the present agency for imparting primary education remains as inefficient as it is at present, there will be a very serious set-back

and a revulsion of feeling will take place against compulsory education. Therefore, I request the Hon'ble Members of this Council to recommend to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that the condition of the primary schools, and especially of the Lower Primary Department, be improved and that the further expansion of primary education should take place through the improved schools.

The Hon'ble Raizada Bhagat Ram: "Your Honour, I wish to give my whole-hearted support to the resolution which my friend has proposed for the consideration of this Council. He has put it in a very lucid manner and proved it by facts and figures that the question of the improvement of primary schools should be taken in hand as soon as possible. He has touched on a point on which I can satisfy the Council that the masses of the country are certainly willing to help this movement and they know that the primary education as it is given at present is not very satisfactory. On two occasions during the last month this very question was mooted before the district board meeting of the Jullundur District, and that question was mooted by a landlord who is not an educated man himself and who desires that his children should be educated. He very strongly protested that this system of education in primary schools is very unsatisfactory. There were a number of causes which were mentioned on that occasion but the most important was the defect as to the qualification of teachers and also the inadequacy in the number of teachers. Your Honour, it is a burning question of the day and I submit that the more speedily the improvement is effected the better. I support this resolution."

The resolution was put and agreed to.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS
6th NOVEMBER, 1917.

RESOLUTION RE-IMPROVEMENT IN THE POSITION OF THE TEACHERS OF CLASSICAL LANGUAGES IN ANGLO-VERNACULAR HIGH SCHOOLS.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadar Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "Your Honour, my third resolution runs as follows : -

" 'This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that in the Subordinate Provincial Educational Service ten posts be taken out of the Rs.20 to Rs.30 grade and put into the Rs.35 to Rs.50 grade to improve the position of the teachers of classical languages in Anglo-Vernacular High Schools.'

"In order to understand the significance of this Resolution I will first state that in the Punjab the Education Department maintains a number of Anglo-Vernacular High Schools, while there are a large number of schools that are not maintained by Government—they consist of Municipal Board schools, District Board schools and denominational schools maintained by Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh charitable institutions. This Resolution concerns the Anglo-Vernacular High School maintained by Government which, so far as I can gather, are kept by Government as model institutions to be copied by other institutions. These institutions are maintained so that the efficiency of secondary education might be kept up at a certain level; therefore we expect that these model institutions would naturally be maintained at a standard of efficiency which would be higher than that of any other institution, while all other institutions would make efforts to keep up to that standard. In the Angro-Vernacular High School maintained by Government a number of subjects are taught, e.g., English, History, Mathematics, Geography, Science, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Now the point that I want particularly to

press upon the attention of the Council is this that the schools are well maintained, they are officered by Headmasters drawing a pay of Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 a month; the teachers of Science, History, Mathematics and Geography all draw pay varying from Rs. 75 to Rs. 200 a month. When we come, however, to the teaching of oriental languages, we find that a large number of the teachers get no more than Rs. 20 a month, although the work is very hard, as hard as that of the High Department; they are imparting instruction in oriental languages; they are not graduates in arts but only graduates in Oriental languages. The subject of their pay has been, on the interpellation side, before the Council; it was raised by me once and once by my friend Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das. On the last occasion the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department admitted that these men were imparting instruction in the High Schools in oriental languages, they were men who had obtained the highest degrees in university in their subjects: the best test of knowledge in the subject was the title of Maulvi Fazil in Arabic and Munshi Fazil in Persian, and Shastri in Sanskrit. There is no other Indian university that confers the same title on scholars in these three different subjects. It comes to this that men possessing the best oriental qualifications in India who are imparting instruction in High Schools, where the Headmasters get Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 and where other teachers get Rs. 75 to Rs. 200, get only Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 a month; when they are lucky they get from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50, it is a rare instance when a man gets Rs. 50, —— it is generally when he is approaching death. As I have said, these facts are admitted by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department. His plea was this, 'why do they come ? it is a question of supply and demand, and the second plea was that denominational and charitable institutions are doing the same, they were not paying any more. All these defences I venture to submit are no justification for what Mr. Fisher called *exploiting labour* on starvation wages. If

poor charitable institutions are paying Rs. 20 to Rs. 35 it is because they cannot afford to pay more. Is it not the duty of the Education Department which maintains model schools for secondary education, to set the pace and the standard so that other institutions may follow? I think it is more creditable to look after the welfare of these poor teachers than to think what the extra expense will be. In any case what denominational institutions are doing would not become right because the Education Department chooses to follow them. The plea that we get the men to come on these rates and go on paying them at those rates is radically a wrong doctrine, I will not repeat the quotation I made from Mr. Fisher, that applies equally, as a matter of fact, very appropriately to the unfortunate teachers of oriental languages. What Mr. Fisher says is no more than an adaptation of the Persian proverb —

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I should not be understood to imply at the same time that these did not work properly. But I think it is very curious that men holding the best degrees in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit should find themselves penniless. The Director of Public Instruction makes use of the poverty of the poor men to entice them to accept at the hands of Government wages of Rs.20 a month and no brilliant prospects of rising to Rs. 200 or Rs. 400 a month. When the Inspector finds that the men are doing thei;@AIQves them a special certificate
of efficiency, he says, 'you are a very good teacher I give you this special certificate for teaching Arabic'; that man is satisfied and for several months after he hopes that something will be done, but his hopes are destined to be frustrated. Years pass by and he rises to Rs. 24 or so. I have got here from the register of the Education Department a large number of instances illustrating that these men who are

more or less enticed into the Department are faring very badly indeed. I have noted the case of two men, the first is Ramji Das who was engaged in 1905, he holds a diploma of Shastri in Sanskrit; a few years later he was given a special certificate for teaching Sanskrit in the High School; to-day after 12 years he is getting Rs. 30 a month; he has advanced during 12 years by Rs. 10. Another example, possibly a more appropriate one, is that of Abdul Karim. In 1905 he also was more or less induced into the department on Rs. 20 a month—a few years later he was given a certificate of fitness for teaching Arabic. He is now drawing Rs. 26 a month, that is a promotion of Rs. 6 after having served the department for 13 years. I know teachers who have obtained excellent chits from their Headmasters, special certificates of fitness from the Inspectors and sweet smiles from the Director of Public Relations. So far as *increment* is concerned, none of these authorities can give them a pice on account of the hard and fast machinery that exists. This is highly unsatisfactory and the men are beginning to grumble. It appears from what the Hon'ble Member in charge told me that unless the oriental readers learn to assert themselves in the western way there is no hope for them. The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department said last year that he felt that in the interests of mercy and justice they should be put into a higher class than the 6th but that he could not do it, there was no money to be had, but that as soon as money is available he will do what he can. I venture to submit that it will not require a large amount of money, to do justice, to afford relief to these badly paid men even in times of war. I urge their claim *on account of the fact that war is going on, and is making it extremely hard for these poorly paid men to gain a living.* It is the claims of these men that should be considered; in England the prospects of teachers are being considered and it is necessary that it should be done here as well. Having placed these facts before the Council I trust the Council will see its way to make a recommendation with a view to relieving these oriental

scholars from their present predicament. As soon as the recruitment is improved and the pay raised from Rs. 35 to Rs. 50 the men will have a chance of holding their own in the schools and be on the same platform as the teachers of other subjects: the efficiency of the institutions will suffer if this discrepancy is allowed to continue between teachers in the same department. The men have to dress well and how can a man with a family do so on Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 a month? He should be placed in the same position as the teachers of other subjects.

Having said this I trust the Council will give the matter its sympathetic consideration."

The resolution was withdrawn on the assurance given by the President that the Hon'ble member in charge of the Education Department has a scheme under its consideration, which will be made known in due course.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS
6th NOVEMBER, 1917

RESOLUTION RE-RECRUITMENT OF PROFESSORS OF ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY IN THE MEDICAL COLLEGE, LAHORE

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Miants

Fazl-i-Husain:- Your Honour, I beg to move my second resolution which runs as follows:-

This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that recruitment for the Professorship of Anatomy in the Medical College, Lahore, be not restricted to the Indian Medical Service and that suitable qualified men outside the Indian Medical Service be eligible for the post.

So far as our Medical College is concerned I think we are all now in a position to be proud of the fact that this institution is second to none in this country. It is well-equipped, well-staffed and, as I have said, is second to none. It attracts men even from outside the Province. I want to make it clear that this resolution is not brought forward in a spirit of criticism. On the other hand, the efficiency of our Medical College is beyond reproach. The object of this resolution? It is this. At present there are eleven chairs distributed as follows :-

There are —

Two Professors of Surgery ;
One Professor of Medicine ;
One Professor of Matria Medica ;
One Professor of Midwifery ;
One Professor of Diseases of Eye, Ear and Throat;
One Professor of Pathology ;
One Professor of Forensic Medicine ; and
One Professor of Hygiene.

Besides these nine there are two more Professors, one of Anatomy and one of Physiology. So far as the first nine chairs are concerned it is obvious that practical experience is needed. So far as the last two are concerned — Anatomy and Physiology — these departments of medicine are of a literary nature and such as require more college education than actual every-day experience. Now, in the Lahore Medical College for the last 30 years the Chair of Physiology has been occupied by a Professor who did not belong to the Indian Medical Service. Till recently in other provinces all the Professors were recruited from the Indian Medical Service, and till only recently in Lucknow and in Bengal, and in Madras last year the Hon'ble Dr. Nair proposed in the Madras Legislative Council that the chair of Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College should be held either by a specially recruited officer or by a qualified Assistant Surgeon, that is to say, recruitment was limited exclusively to Assistant Surgeons, and to persons other than those belonging to the Indian Medical Service. So far as the recruitment to this post was concerned it was closed to members of the Indian Medical Service. Personally, I am not in favour of creating any hard and fast distinctions like that, in an educational institution. We want the best men for the posts in these institutions. We want men who are really an acquisition and have very good academic distinctions. What happens when a man with such qualifications, and suitably in touch with institutions in the West, but who does not belong to the Indian Medical Service, applies for such a post? What reply will he get? You will say you cannot get the post, you are not a member of the Indian Medical Service. Supposing he says that he has worked in a very good science institute and possesses very good degrees. He will get the reply — it does not matter, you may know your subject well and perhaps better than many Indian Medical Service men. As long as you are not a member of that service you cannot be taken for the post.

It is to remove this bar that non-Indian Medical Service men are not eligible that I have brought forward this resolution. Just as an instance I may mention the case of Colonel Stephenson, who is principal of the Government College and is a member of the Indian Medical Service. It was, I think, by the courtesy shown by the Government as well as by the Indian Educational Service that he was selected as the best-suited man to fill that high and exalted office. He has been an unqualified success. It has become quite evident that had the bar of service been created in his way and allowed to stand in way of his appointment, he would not have had the chance of benefiting the institution and successfully managing it. Now, if from the Indian Medical Service we can take Colonel Stephenson for the Indian Educational Service—and he has done wonderfully well there —is there any reason to suppose why you cannot take a man who does not belong to the Indian Medical Service when he is an equally well qualified man. Now we already know that for more than a quarter of a century the chair of Professor of Physiology has been filled with distinction by Dr. Caleb. Is there any reason to suppose that it is impossible to find a successor of his outside the Indian Medical Service? I want to make quite clear that it is not intended to cast any reflections whatever on the Indian Medical Service for which I have the greatest respect? The record of that service is splendid, and in the present war they have added greater luster to it. We have admired the service, we appreciate it, but at the same time is it unreasonable to urge that outside that service it is not possible to find good men, and especially at a time when the need of that service is very great elsewhere. So I request the Council to support this resolution which I trust is quite moderate, inasmuch as it simply raises the point of principle of a very general application, and to recommend to His Honour that recruitment for the Professorship of Anatomy in the Medical College, Lahore, be not restricted to the Indian Medical Service and that

suitable qualified men outside the Indian Medical Service be eligible for the post. It is unnecessary for me to dilate on this subject."

"1. I think there is no doubt that every member of the Council will agree with the Hon'ble Member in charge that the efficiency and discipline of the institution must be maintained, although there may be considerable difference of opinion on the subject if it is contended that both these can only be done by members of the Indian Medical Service. Now I fully recognise that members of the Indian Medical Service are selected by open competition which is open to Indians, but possibly it would have been better if this aspect of the question had not been brought out in connection with this resolution. This resolution does not aim at benefiting Indians. It only widens the field of selection from among non-Indian Medical Service men when they possess the requisite qualifications with a degree from an Indian or a British University, and it is as much in the interests of the young English practitioner as of an Indian.

"2. Now the argument that inasmuch as a member of the Indian Medical Service does a good deal of disagreeable work, therefore for that work he should be given this post in the Medical College is hardly a good one. I do not think, Sir, that service in any station for 5 to 10 years or in a plague infected or cholera-stricken area particularly tends to increase the knowledge of physiology or anatomy. Therefore I think the services of the Indian Medical Service men in doing their disagreeable part of the work should be rewarded in ways other than this. The reason why I wanted the recruitment to be open to non-

Indian Medical Service men is that the fact that they have worked in Indian conditions for a long time and done miscellaneous work does not tend to increase the knowledge of Indian Medical Service officers or even enable them to keep up their knowledge of a subject like Anatomy. It is for this very reason why I wanted the recruitment to be open to non-Indian Medical Service men.

"3. Then it has been said that very eminent men have been holding the Chair of Anatomy, but I would remind the Hon'ble Member that Colonel Perry won his reputation more as a surgeon than as an anatomist. Moreover, Sir, the object of the resolution is not that the post of Professor of Anatomy should necessarily be filled from outside the Indian Medical Service. It cannot be that in India students do not acquire sufficient knowledge where to find the diagonal bone. We want to give the post to those who will know all about it. I believe the knowledge of glands is not a thing which men outside the Indian Medical Service cannot acquire.

"4. The question of discipline is one, on which we agree. I do not think the Hon'ble Member in charge intended to imply that if a Professor is recruited from outside the Indian Medical Service he will find it impossible to maintain the discipline. Discipline is maintained in other educational institutions in Lahore which are managed by officers other that Indian Medical Service men.

"5. Then it has been urged that the men selected for the Indian Medical Service are under the eye of the Secretary of State during the period of their service, and that the Secretary of State is able to

judge their capabilities. It seems to me more or less impossible for him to find out from an officer having done well as a medical man that---he is fit for teaching work. It cannot be said that members of a special service are particularly fit for teaching to the exclusion of others. If the Indian Educational Service were recruited from amongst the members of the Indian Civil Service I have not the slightest doubt that a very large number will be found who will be able to do the work quite well. At the same time I believe it is generally admitted that so far as educational institutions are concerned, that a man may be an excellent scholar and yet not a good administrator. In fact, I remember, Sir, that your predecessor in office, Sir Louis Dane, once told me that one of his contemporaries in the Indian Civil Service had very good knowledge of Oriental languages and he would have been an excellent man to fill the post of Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore. He found that neither as a District Officer nor as a District Judge Oriental scholarship was of any avail. If only that man were given a chance in the Oriental College he would have been a very great success. Now there are many instances like that. At the same time it is not seriously urged that the Indian Civil Service should supply the Education Department with teachers.

"6. The next point taken up by the Hon'ble Member is this that if an Indian Medical Service man proved unsuccessful as teacher or was failure as such, he could put him on some other work. May I ask if we proceed further and find that he proves a failure in the other work to which he was put, what will he do with that man. Will he turn him out?

"7. I do not think it is necessary for me, for purposes of this resolution, to enter into the effects of the war. I fully realise that it is desirable to attract a large number of men to the Indian Medical Service, but so far as I can see it does not affect my resolution, as my resolution is not designed to exclude any particular service.

"8. I find that in a number of other Provinces it has been found possible to consider that the products of the Medical Colleges in India are also good enough to fill this post. At all events in Madras the Hon'ble Surgeon-General said that the products of the Madras College were quite capable of filling this post."

Hon'ble Bakshi Sohan Lal proposed that after the words "Professorship of Anatomy" the words "or of physiology" be added. The mover accepted the amendment. The resolution, as amended, was then put to the vote and carried.

THE USE OF URDU

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS, 21st DECEMBER, 1917

The Hon'ble K.B. Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "Your Honour,—The subject I believe, is of very great interest indeed not only from the literary point of view but also from a political point of view. It seems to me that the arguments that have been advanced by the Hon'ble mover with reference to his resolution have not been met at all. What he claims is this that Councils exist for the purpose of framing laws to be used in the Province. He further

contends that the local legislature as at present constituted has a number of elected members.

"As to a particular disinclination to speak in our own language, I think there is a misunderstanding in the minds of our English friends. It is true that whenever a European officer, especially a judicial officer, tries to hear the arguments in the vernacular, there is a sort of feeling among the members of the Bar against the order, but I believe that feeling is very largely due to misapprehension. They think that the idea of the presiding officer is that they do not know enough English to argue their cases well in that language. They feel very sore about it. They say that they have spent about 15 years or so in studying the language, and yet the presiding officer thinks so little of it that he would not allow them to speak it in court. Whenever the position has been made clear to the members of the Bar that the object of the presiding officers is not so much to discourage their arguing their cases in English, as to acquaint themselves better with the language of the country, they realise the position and take it in good part. Moreover, sometimes they fear that when the presiding officer is trying to familiarize himself with the language of the province, he may not at all be following their arguments. In that case some very good points that have been made in support of the claim may not be followed by the presiding officer at all. It is purely a personal sentiment that they are not considered to know English enough to argue their cases in English that explains the soreness, which is exhibited whenever a presiding officer tries to conduct the proceedings of his court in vernacular.

"As regards the difficulty of keeping records of speeches in vernacular is concerned, I think no one knows better than the Hon'ble Mr. Thompson that Urdu writing is delivered in Urdu quite as fast as an English Shorthand-Writer. I do not think that he will meet with any practical difficulty in regard to that. As to the work of translating our

speeches into English I do not think it would be necessary either to trouble the members of Council or to maintain a translating department. Now-a-days the Vernacular Press is not slow to translate English speeches into vernacular and publish them broadcast. Why should we assume that the English Press will not be able to afford translators to translate our speeches into English and circulate them broadcast. I do not think we should be particularly anxious to save the English Press this trouble. I think it will be a very great help to the Vernacular Press, that is to say they will be able to publish our speeches at once to the masses who know the vernacular only. The English papers will have to maintain a translating department for the convenience of the non-vernacular-knowing classes.

"As to the difficulty about the proceedings of this Council so far as the European members are concerned, I can assure this Council that practice makes perfect. I have not the slightest doubt that if this resolution is carried, not only the members who have already been mentioned as particularly good at the vernacular, but also others will be able to make their speeches in vernacular quite as well as they are doing at present, and I have not the slightest doubt that the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Lumsden will lose nothing in charm and humour if he were to address the Council in vernacular. He will be able to do it quite as efficiently as he has been doing in English. Then it should be remembered that the non-official members are responsible to their constituencies and have to take part in the discussion a great deal, while the duties of official members are not as onerous at all. As a matter of fact, the official members have not got to make very lengthy speeches on resolutions while opposing or accepting them, and there is no reason to suppose that their power of speech is likely to be taxed very much. I understand that under the regulations of the Council as they exist at present the official members have no option in the matter of personal views, that is to say they do not make speeches

in order to express their individual and personal views on any question. As a rule they have to express the settled views. Election has been introduced so that there should be real representation of the people. His third plea is that inasmuch as members are returned by their constituencies to represent them in Council they should be able to do so. Unless the rules are modified, a member who does not know English is unable to represent his constituency. A particular constituency has great faith in a Punjabi who does not know English and therefore returns that Punjabi. Why should the rules be so framed, as to prevent his taking part in the deliberations of the Council and render it impossible for him efficiently and effectively to represent his constituency. That I understand is the amount of logic involved in the plea in support of the resolution.

"I do not think the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Thompson has tried to meet this aspect of the case.

"The second point taken by the Hon'ble mover is to the effect that it is often alleged by the officials that the English-knowing Indians are not the real representatives of the people and that they, on account of their training, their education and probably on account of their profession, take a particular view of political questions that come before the Council; while it is, quite conceivable that the representatives of the non-English-knowing Punjabis entertain different views. Why should the rules be so framed as not to permit that section of the Punjabis being adequately represented in the Council? The Hon'ble Member who does not know English has no chance of taking part in the debates, he has no chance of making himself heard and he has no chance of hearing arguments. It comes practically to this that although the law allows the people to return a non-English knowing man whom they trust, the regulations of this Council do not allow that member to do his duty by his electorate. I think this is a very strong point the members who have taken part in the debate have not tried

to show where the mistake lies in the logic of the argument.

"Another point the Hon'ble mover makes is that the present regulations tend to create a gulf between the people of this Province and the educated Panjabis. There are no doubt a large number of us in the Punjab who have got English education more or less of the same sort as members of other provinces of India. This educated class of Indians tends to develop a particular school of thought. His point is—on the one hand Government takes up the position that the educated people are not representative of all classes of the people, and yet has made regulations which tend to give prominence to the English-knowing class. I think this position is absolutely sound, and the attitude taken by Government with reference to this particular resolution, if I may say so, is not at all consistent.

"Now with reference to the question that has been put on behalf of Government to the English-knowing Indians, I for one strongly support the resolution. I fully realise that the political development of India as a whole demands that there should be a *lingua franca* English—for the whole of India, but I do not go any further, and I think the Hon'ble Mr. Thompson's patriotism for this province is not sufficiently strong if he says that in order to render our proceedings to be accessible to the people of Madras or Bombay, we should sacrifice the interests of the Punjab and not allow our vernacular speeches to go from the Punjab in their original humour and beauty. Why not let us make speeches in our own vernacular and let them go to the people and see how they are appreciated. Let the people thus educate themselves so that they may come to our way of thinking and improve themselves. If we find that we are talking above their heads, we may come to their level. I think in this way the Hon'ble Mr. Thompson might revise his position, and state whether he prefers that we should speak in English so that

the Bengalis and Madrasis may admire us or whether we should speak in our own language so that the people of our own province may appreciate us. If this is correct, all they have to say is to give expression to the Government's views in their speeches and need not say anything more. Some people think that as a matter of routine the existence of official members in very many cases is meant for nothing more than actually for voting for or against a particular measure. That does not require a very great use of language. So I think on the whole it is necessary for this Council to take into consideration the fact that non-official members have to represent a very large number of people, and they cannot possibly do it efficiently unless the proceedings are conducted in the language they know well.

"I have no doubt that most of us, irrespective of religion or caste or creed, take the general question whether it is feasible and practicable to introduce the vernacular of the province as a medium of *speeches* or not. The word *speeches* I specially emphasize. Whatever our disputes may be as to the characters in which those speeches are to be written, when it comes to speaking I claim that there is no real difference. Whether we call it Punjabi or Hindi or Urdu, speech-making is the same, the difference is only as to the script, whether it is to be Gurmukhi, Hindi or Urdu. As to actual speaking, whether it is the Hon'ble Pandit Jowahir Lal from the south-eastern districts or Pandit Sheo Narain who comes from the central districts or Malik Muhammad Amin or Diwan Daulat Rai who come from Rawalpindi, they will make speeches more or less in the same language, that is the language will be one which will be understood by all easily. The question of the rival claims of Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu is not really relevant to the matter under discussion, and that need not worry the Council at all now or in future.

"Then as to the use of English words in vernacular

speeches, that no doubt has been and is the tendency, and I agree with my Hon'ble friend that it is deplorable, yet there is nothing like trying and there is no reason why we should not try to get over this difficulty.

"There is another argument advanced, and that is that the Acts will have to be in vernacular. So far as I know all the Bills that are introduced into this Council are translated into vernacular and published in the *Punjab Gazette* in vernacular. So I really do not see any very great difficulty in the way of this resolution. If there were need, there is no reason to suppose that men like Maulvi Nazir Ahmad or Shamsl-ul-Ulma Zaka Ullah would not be available to do their duty, and translate the very best things from the European literature into the literature of the country.

"For these reasons, Your Honour, I support the resolution which is now before the Council."

The resolution was put to the vote and negatived by 16 to 6 votes.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS, 13th MARCH 1917

RESOLUTION RE THE APPOINTMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MUHAMMADANS OF THE PUNJAB ON THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BY ELECTION IN PLACE OF NOMINATION.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain.-- "Your Honour,-- I beg to move the resolution that stands in my name and runs as follows :-

"This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to make a recommendation to the Imperial Government that the Regulations for the Nomination and Election of Additional Members of the Legislative Council of Governor-General be so amended that the representative of the Muham-

madan community in the Punjab shall in future be elected and not nominated.'

"At the very outset I think it is necessary for me to say what is the object of this resolution and, rather to make it clear, what is not intended by this resolution, Well, it is not intended that the official majority of the Imperial Council should be in any way endangered. It is not intended that the right of representation conceded to any community be taken away, curtailed or added to. It is not intended that preference by virtue of this resolution be given to one particular electorate to the prejudice of another. What really it comes to is this that, at present, under section 63 of the Government of India Act, the Indian legislature is so constituted that the members of the Executive Council are members of the Indian Legislative Councils *ex.officio*. Over and above these members there are, under the Act, no less than 60 members,—not exceeding 60. Out of these 60, 30 are to be officials and 30 non-officials. Now the recruitment of the set of 30 non-official members is something like this:—12 members are to be returned by local legislature, 7 are to be returned by the landholders of India, and 7 are to be returned by the Muhammadan community in India. So that will make 26. Three are to be returned by the Chambers of Commerce and one by the District Boards and Municipal Committees of the Central Provinces. Now out of these 30 members 27 are returned by election, *i.e.*, 12 members are elected by local legislatures and out of these 12 one is returned by election by the members of this Council from amongst the non-official members. When it comes to the question of returning a representative of the Muhammadan community, 6 members are returned by Bombay, Madras, Bengal, United Provinces, Central Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa by election. It is only in the case of this Province that the method of recruitment, so far as the Muhammadan community is concerned, is quite different from that adopted in other provinces.

"Again with reference to the 7 landholders there is the same thing in other Provinces, *i.e.*, their method of recruitment is by election. In the case of this Province, again, it is by nomination. As to the 3 members to be returned by the Chambers of Commerce, 2 are returned by election and 1 is returned by nomination, in order to represent the Indian Chambers of Commerce throughout India. So that the peculiarity of the existing regulations is that 8 members out of 30 are returned by nomination while the remaining 27 are returned by election. Out of these 3, one might reasonably be considered the fit subject of being returned by nomination. I am referring to the member to be returned by the Indian Chambers of Commerce, inasmuch as it would be probably very difficult to constitute a proper electorate for that purpose. In moving this resolution I am not concerned with the fate of the Punjab landholders. So far as they are concerned it is a separate question altogether.

"Now I propose to make it clear what is the object and extent of the resolution. It only concerns the one representative, *i.e.*, the representative of the Punjab Muhammadans, who is recruited in a method quite different from that adopted for the United Provinces Muhammadans, Madras Muhammadans, or the Bombay Muhammadans, &c. I wanted to know the reasons why this particular anomaly does exist, and I thought the knowledge of the circumstances in which this anomaly came into existence might help me towards a change in my attitude in this matter. The records about that were not accessible to me, so I have been more or less groping in the dark as to why the Punjab was treated like this — differently from other provinces. There can be but three possible explanations. One is, possibly, the question of an electorate. When it was possible to create a proper Muhammadan electorate in other provinces how is it that it was not possible to create one for the Punjab ? I would submit that it is hardly maintainable that it was not possible to create

an electorate in this Province. The creation of Muhammadan electorates in Bombay and Madras, etc., were matters of no difficulty whatsoever. They had included title-holders all over the Province, honorary magistrates and income-tax payers of a certain amount etc. I believe all these species do exist in the Punjab. I do not know whether lists of these persons are maintained in this Province or not. So far as the difficulty of constituting an electorate is concerned, I do not think it is insurmountable here when it has been solved in other Provinces. The second explanation possibly is that there are no candidates forthcoming who would contest the seats. Here, again, I believe that also is a highly improbable condition. We find that so far as District Boards are concerned, the University is concerned and the Municipal Committees are concerned there has been no difficulty in the matter of Muhammadan candidates. The majority of the non-official members in this Council are returned by their constituencies by election and not by nomination. So I fail to see when the Government has got the system of election for the Imperial Council so far as 90 percent. of the seats on the Imperial Council are concerned, why in the case of the Punjab Muhammadans the system of nomination is resorted to. I really do not think it is necessary for me to go into the academic discussion of election *versus* nomination. I dare say the Imperial Government as well as the Local Government are agreed that the system of election is preferable, and it would serve no useful purpose to go into it. But before I finish my subject I would like to mention that it is not due to the fact that the system of nomination that has been resorted to so far in returning a Muhammadan to represent the Punjab Muhammadans has not been doing well and efficiently. On the contrary all that could possibly have been done was done by the Local Government. They always kept in view the needs of efficient representation and gave full weight to the recommendations of the several Muhammadan public bodies whom they consulted before making their selection. So the reason for moving this

resolution is not that the results of the nomination system in returning a Muhammadan from the Punjab have been unsatisfactory, but on the other hand to my mind there are objects other than adequate representation to be gained by the system of election. The first and the foremost advantage to my mind is that it creates a feeling of co-operation on the part of the electorate which is constituted. The thought that they have to elect their own man has a very valuable effect to my mind which is not gained by the present system. So far as mere efficiency is concerned, I should be inclined to say that probably the Local Government with all the knowledge of the affairs are likely to appoint a good Muhammadan as against the man returned by the electorate. But I dare say that the sense of responsibility, co-operation with Government and the feeling that they are sending out a man of their own to represent them, which are engendered by the system of election, outweigh to my mind even the possibility of their not exercising the right so well and so efficiently as under the present system of the Government machinery.

"I believe, Your Honour, that this resolution that I am moving is not of any far-reaching effect on the Council. It is extremely simple, and is only a change of system. It does not require a change of enactment. All that it does achieve is that the community which is given the right to send a man to represent them on the Imperial Council be allowed to exercise that right effectively and to make their selection from their own community. After all it must be admitted that the community does possess a fairly large number of men who are ready and willing to sacrifice their time in order to serve on these Councils and that they should therefore be given an opportunity of making their own choice when their co-religionists in all the other provinces exercise that right. I further claim that in this matter this Province has been very unfairly treated inasmuch as the standard of education in this Province is certainly higher than that obtaining in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and other

provinces and this Province has educated Muhammadans who are the pride of the Muhammadan community of the other provinces.

"With these remarks I beg to move this resolution."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain in reply said.— "So far as this resolution is concerned , Your Honour, it has received the support of two representatives of district boards, and it has been opposed by two non-official members who have not come in this Council by the right of election.

"The discussion with reference to this resolution has been largely due to the fact that the Hon'ble Member-in-charge has thought fit to supply a great deal of information with reference to the resolution that I moved.

"With reference to the point of personal explanation, I am sure it was entirely due to misunderstanding. I understood the Hon'ble Member-in-charge to say in a Garden Party that he would let me know as soon as he saw the files. I did not think he expected me to call at his office, otherwise I would have been delighted to avail myself of his offer.

"Now with reference to the points that he has placed before the Council on behalf of Government. Of course he has not given his own personal opinion nor any on behalf of Government. The first is — Can an electorate be constituted ? My reply is that if Sindh Muhammadans can constitute an electorate to return their representatives, there is no reason why the Punjab Muhammadans should not be able to do so. If the backward Bengal can create an electorate for the purpose, is it likely that the Punjab Muhammadans will not be able to do the same ? So to my mind the difficulty of electorates is due to the fact that the rules and regulations of different Provinces where these electorates exist — copies of which will be in the Council Library — have not been consulted, otherwise the diffi-

culty is to my mind not an insurmountable one. Then it was pointed out as an abstract from the blue book that the system of election is likely to favour persons who are seeking leadership, lawyers and persons of equally pushing nature, while opinions on the subject, so far as the public are concerned, are clear."

The Hon'ble Mr. Thompson :- "My I rise to make an explanation ? The Hon'ble Member has misunderstood the passage. The point of the remark is not that it would give a chance to the classes mentioned, but that it would give a chance to those classes among Muhammadans which the corresponding classes among the Hindus and Sikhs would not possess."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:-- "With reference to these comparative chances of the different communities, I will presently deal with them, and I hope in a way which Government will find now far more satisfactory then it was ten years ago. What I meant was that there are two evils that have to be faced, one is that class of pushing people who would go to the electorates in order to get themselves returned by their constituencies and the other class which the people in the press consider as equally obnoxious and to be discouraged, is the people who would go and seek for these nominations rather than go to the electorates. However, that is hardly the point before us, it is the difference between the systems of election and nomination.

Now with reference to the question of over-representation of Muhammadans. I believe there was a great deal of feeling in 1909 when these reform schemes were introduced, but happily now these feelings between the two communities are not so much estranged as they used to be, and the Hindus as well as the Muhammadans realize that if one or two Hindus more or less went the Imperial Council or on the Provincial Council, it would make no dif-

ference so far as the good government of this country is concerned and so far as the real and true advantages of India as a whole are concerned. We perfectly well know that although in the last elections out of the ten seats open to election five Muhammadans were returned and five Hindus were returned and out of the nominated seats only one-third were given to Muhammadans, but after all supposing that instead of two there were three Muhammadans and so on, the community would not have progressed more than they have done at present. I think it is a matter of satisfaction not only to the people but also to the Government that this reasonable state of feeling prevails in the Province and throughout India. Therefore, when it is pointed out to me that seven out of eleven members who have had from time to time seats on the Imperial Legislative Council on behalf of the Punjab were members of the Muhammadan community, it is, no doubt, a matter of which I would feel proud, but supposing it was reduced to five or six I do not suppose they would feel it very much. I confess I do not find my way to agree with the Hon'ble Member-in-charge upon this point when he says that it involves the taking away of the rights of Hindus or put it more correctly their chance of losing the possibility of a seat which at present is occupied by a Muhammadan."

The Hon'ble Mr.Thompson:- "May I again rise, Sir, to point out that I expressed no opinion. Consequently the Hon'ble Member cannot agree with me."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "I did not mean at all to attribute that view to the Hon'ble Member-in-charge. On the contrary he expressed no opinion either personally or on behalf of Government. What I meant is that he pointed out certain possibilities for the Hindus to claim that they are under-represented. As I have said that there is not the slightest doubt that if these electorates are considered and discussed now the state of feeling is such that Hindus and Muhammadans among

themselves would be very glad indeed to divide the honours equally in an honourable manner and that, to my mind, surely is not a consideration which is going to weigh so far as the enforcement of the present regulations is concerned, and I would say that the fact that one Muhammadan should be elected and not nominated should not give us a title to that seat which could not be set aside by Government as a seat which is open to nomination. This should not be misunderstood by the members of this Council. It is not really a question that the Hindu members of this Council have to consider — weather by acceding to this resolution, *i.e.*, introducing the principle of election where there has been nomination, they would do anything which would make permanent any grievance they may have or result in the over-representation of Muhammadans.

"Now, with regard to the question of there being separate electorates for the Muhammadans in the Punjab for the local legislature. So far as I can see it is hardly a question that arises out of my resolution, not the question of electorate for the representative on the Imperial Legislative Council, but the question of separate Muhammadan electorate for the local legislature for election to the local Council, and at present I am not in a position to give any well-considered opinion on that subject. All that I am at present prepared to say is that, whether there is a separate electorate or not, this particular resolution can be put into effect independently of that. There are some who think that if there are no separate electorates probably it would give rise to irritation, but we all know really that wherever there is election there is some kind of irritation and in the question of religion it is sometimes exhibited, but even if the election were entirely restricted to one community, irritation would be the same as it would be in such Provinces where there are only Moslem electorates or Hindu electorates. So, in the end, I would urge that this resolution is not of any far-reaching importance or of any

very great consequence, that it is extremely simple, and that it does not intend to establish a prescriptive right to any seat that the Government may choose to set aside tomorrow for the representation of our Hindu fellow-countrymen. All that is intended to be exercised in a way in which it is exercised in other places, that the anomaly should be removed and that any peculiar position in this matter, as in some others to which this Province is relegated, should not be allowed to exist. With these few remarks I put the resolution before the Council."

The resolution was put to the Council and carried, seven voting for the resolution and three against it.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS, 7th FEBRUARY, 1918

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PUNJAB

THE RESTRICTION OF HABITUAL OFFENDERS (PUNJAB) BILL

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:– "This Bill, at the earlier stages called the "Habitual Criminals Bill," and now styled the "Habitual Offenders Bill," was introduced in this Council at the last meeting. At the time the Bill was introduced, I thought it was advisable not to enter my protest against it, as I wanted to see how the Select Committee that was going to be appointed will deal with it.

"This morning we have been presented with a Report of the Select Committee and we find that the Select Committee has contented itself with making certain grammatical corrections and introducing certain reforms by way of drafting and one small para has been added. But so far as the main provisions are concerned, as the Select Committee claims, no alterations have been made. This is the time when I venture to make certain observations as to

the principles underlying the Bill, and as to the changes the Bill seeks to introduce in the criminal administration of the province, and as they are to a far-reaching effect how far they are desirable from the point of view of the liberty of the subject as well as from the point of view of interests of the public at large. In dealing with this Bill I will request Your Honour to bear with me for a moment when I invite Your Honour's close attention to an exceedingly important point which appears to have been more or less ignored by the framers of the Bill. And it is this : it should be remembered that it was as long ago as 1861 that the Indian Penal Code was introduced into this country and it was in the year 1866 that the Criminal measures, measures for the carrying on of the criminal administration of the country, there was in the Punjab, a few years before their introduction, a state of administration known, without meaning any disparagement, as *sikha shahi*. The principle of Government practically amounted to this. You get hold of a man who is suspected and tie him up and proceed to administer justice in the best way you can. It was that which was called *sikha shahi*. The people very naturally welcomed the change which the British administration introduced into the country. It was the change from that sort of administration to an administration based on principles of civilised government that at once endeared the British administration to the people, and on common parlance the people have begun to say when we want to introduce such a measure as this Bill that they are surely not returning to *sikha shahi*. Why, it is *sarkari hakumat* ? When any measure calculated to introduce a change in the provisions of law introduced as far back as 1861 and 1866 is contemplated, I believe, it ought to be introduced with reference to the express need that is felt, and that the change should be in the direction of reform on the principles of civilised government and not a sort of going back to the principles of 50 or 60 years ago.

"Now all of us are unanimous in approving of the

object of the Bill. The object admittedly is that there should be less of crime. No one can for a moment say that object is not noble, or that any one of us does not want to achieve that object. Whether that object will be achieved by this or not, and what will be the extent of this achievement, are points which the Council should consider very carefully when dealing with this Bill.

"In the case of criminals, let them be brought to justice, try them in accordance with law and convict them and punish them. I believe what I am going to put forward is not on behalf of criminals but it is on behalf of the people who are suspects — persons suspected of having committed an offence but against whom no proof has been adduced that they have actually committed an offence. Just now in my opening observations I mentioned the fact that there is a difference between a habitual criminal and a habitual offender. The bill originally was really meant to affect the habitual criminals. If the Hon'ble Members will turn to the Statement of Objects and Reasons they will find that in the very first para. It is mentioned that this Bill came into being on certain recommendations made by the Police to the effect that the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act should apply to those persons who have been twice convicted. Obviously a very sensible suggestion. There is a man who has committed an offence, he has been convicted and found guilty, and again he commits the same offence and is probably imprisoned. Again he is convicted for a term of five years or six years. Under section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, it will be a longer term of imprisonment than he got on his second conviction. What the Inspector-General of Police apparently wanted was that if this man has committed a third offence, — will, what is he ? after all he is a confirmed criminal — we should be allowed to proceed against him and take very strong measures against him. To that proposal I for one would not offer any opposition. But it appears that as time passed opinions were invited on this point and instead of keeping the

recommendations of the Inspector-General of Police in view, the scope of the measure has been extended. No doubt generally it was considered that the provisions of section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code, that is to say, the provisions with reference to persons suspected of being criminals, were not very satisfactory. We all know that those provisions really should not find a place in the Criminal Procedure Code. They serve really no useful purpose. I there agree with the Hon'ble Member. But when he proceeds to say that inasmuch as those provisions are of no use there lies the necessity for the introduction of the new provision that is to say, the order of restriction, not only against habitual criminals but also against persons who are suspected of being offenders and who are now being termed as habitual offenders. I cannot agree with him. The principles of law, and the principles of justice underlying section 110 do not allow that when a person is suspected by his neighbours and his fellow-villagers or his fellow-townsmen and has got a bad repute — well, inasmuch as it is no crime not to be in the good books of his neighbours, he should be punished, but they go so far in the interests of the people at large as to say "you shall give security to the extent of so much money, that you will behave yourself and that if you do not behave yourself properly and commit an offence, not only will you be punished but your security will be confiscated." That is to say, in India in the Criminal Procedure Code this preventive measure is added to what is the law in England, and always the Courts of Justice have held that even this measure should be very carefully enforced, inasmuch as the person against whom the machinery of section 110 is to be enforced is not a criminal. He is not the person who has committed an offence, and invariably our Judges of the Chief Court as well as of the different High Courts have held that the man should be considered innocent in the sense that he is not a criminal, and I may mention that in his speech the Hon'ble Member-in-charge made certain observations on which he appeared to base the argument

in support of this Bill. I have got the speech before me. He started by saying that the present law is unsatisfactory and the interpretation of the present law is such that it shows that the present law is of no avail and does not serve the purpose which it was intended to serve. he referred to a case of 1905 and referred to a judgment of the Chief Court in which he said it was laid down that it was illegal for a Magistrate to order a further security to be furnished once a security has been offered and accepted. That was a case wherein a surety was offered and accepted and the man was released and there apparently the matter ended. The Magistrate who tried the man accepted the surety from that man. It appears that the Superintendent of Police was not quite satisfied and he reported the matter not to the Magistrate who had tried the case, but to the District Magistrate direct and the District Magistrate of the district appears to have taken a strange action inasmuch as he cancelled the first surety and proceeded to order a fresh one. The matter came before the Sessions Judge, Mr. Kennedy, and he reported the matter to the Chief Court, saying that this procedure of the District Magistrate was altogether unfair and illegal. The Chief Court agreed with the Sessions Judge and Mr. Justice Retd then passed an order that it was not right on the part of the District Magistrate on the report of the Superintendent of Police (the man who was really through one of the subordinates responsible for *challenging* the man) to say that he should furnish another security or that the surety should not be accepted. I fail to see how the Member-in-charge of the Bill can possibly rely upon this judgment as showing that the provisions of law are unsatisfactory, as it shows that the action of the District Magistrate, as of course the action of all executive officers, is more or less biassed in the interests of good administration and that view was very properly taken by the Sessions Judge and the Chief Court. Next the Hon'ble Member-in-charge proceeded to say that in the following year, that is, in the year 1906, the Chief Court again took the matter of section 110 into consider-

ation. Now this case of 1906 reported as 18, Punjab Record, 1906, was, I say, a case that showed how necessary it is for the judiciary to control the discretion of the administrative officer. In the Rawalpindi district it appeared that the District Magistrate, over-anxious to establish quiet and peace in the district, issued an order that in future a lambardar or zaildar should not be allowed to stand surety for a man who is suspected to be an offender. As soon as the man is ordered to give security, he should be sent to jail and should not be released on bail till the man who offers to stand a surety for him has been sent to the Tehsildar and then to the Sub-inspector. That is, for at least a fortnight the man should remain in jail. This matter came before the Sessions Judge, Mr. Scott Smith, now Mr. Justice Scott Smith. He thought the circular of the District Magistrate was a violation of the law and he very rightly wrote a very strong report on the subject and forwarded the case to the Chief Court. The Chief Court went into the whole case and it was Sir Arthur Retd., the Chief Judge, who went into the whole case and came to the conclusion that the order of the District magistrate was illegal and the procedure that he had suggested amounted to a very serious, what was termed in the judgment, 'scandalous breach of justice.' Here is a man who is ordered to give security and he is willing to give security to the satisfaction of the court. you say I am not going to look at that surety, I am not going to look at your sureties at all. Let him go to the Tehsildar and he must send him on to the Sub-Inspector and for a fortnight at least the man who is suspected of crime remains in jail. This matter of the *robkar* of the District Magistrate is considered in this judgment of the Chief Court and they very rightly held that the District Magistrate acted very wrongly in issuing the *robkar*.

"I do not think much argument can be found in support of the Bill from a judgment which I claim very rightly ordered that the provisions of section 110 could

not be used as they had been. The next case which the Hon'ble Member-in-charge cited in his support, was the case of 1914. Now that again was a case wherein a civilian Judge of the Chief Court on his own motion, that is to say, when neither side appeared before him, thought it advisable to correct what he considered a flagrant breach of justice, and he very rightly pointed out that the object of the law as to security for good behaviour is not to fill the jails with bad characters but to bring a reasonable pressure to bear upon such persons to respect the law.

"Now I must put by the temptation of deal with 17 Punjab Record, 1900, and proceed at once to place before the Council the points on which I rely. What I rely upon is that this measure originally was intended to be a measure against persons who were habitual criminals and the extension of the scope of the Bill so as to include persons who are not habitual criminals but only suspects under section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code is an innovation. The learned Member-in-charge claimed that a large number of people consulted were in support of the principle of the Bill. I venture to directly challenge the correctness of that contention. I would request him to look at the opinions which have been sent to him to see whether it is not a fact that almost all the Members want him to define the words 'habitual offender' in order to limit the application of that expression to the persons who have had previous convictions against them. Some suggest that he must have a previous conviction in two cases, so it is not fair to say that the members consulted support the Bill inasmuch as they say we support the Bill provided the persons against whom we proceed are persons who have got previous convictions against them, and I believe that such members were among the members of the Select Committee as well.

'Then the second point is what is the significance of this order of internment or restriction. It amounts to this

that a man is practically imprisoned within a certain area, that is to say, an imprisonment within a restricted area without having any one to support him. I contend, Your Honour, that it is an imprisonment without the State incurring the burden of maintaining that man. It is an exceedingly harsh measure. He is simply suspected of having committed a crime. My contention is that it is contrary to the principles of justice involved in all the criminal enactments that are in force till now, and a measure like this has not yet been introduced, I claim, in any other province. Then there is a hint that possibly the administration of this measure will not be in the hands of the Police. There is no such risk of this. Personally I think that if the machinery is changed from the Sub-Inspector of Police to the village Zaildar or Lambardar the change is not for the better, inasmuch as persons who are occupying the positions of Lambardars and Zaildars are not better than those in the employ of Government against whom serious action can be taken by their immediate officers. Therefore with these remarks I oppose the consideration of this Bill in this meeting."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:— "The motion that the Habitual Offenders Bill be taken into consideration was carried in yesterday's meeting, and the amendments of which notice under the regulations was given were discussed by this Council yesterday and to-day with the result that three of the amendments were withdrawn by me and one amendment practically has been carried, two, I think, and others have been discussed and negatived. In other words, barring one important alteration, that is to say, the discretion given to the Magistrate to award a sentence of fine in the case of first conviction, the Bill stands to-day where it stood yesterday, though in one or two cases it has been made more clear. So I want to avail myself of this opportunity to enter my protest against the Bill at this its final stage in the Council. Yesterday owing to a misunderstanding as to the time limit I was not

really in a position to place my point of view with reference to the Bill as precisely as possible before the Council. Now I propose to do so forthwith.

"The first point is, how has the Bill originated? That is to say, for every Bill there must be some reason. There must be some cause. Has the need for the introduction of the new Bill been felt or not, and if so what need that is? What proof has been adduced of that need? Now the Bill as originally drafted, and the Statement of Objects and Reasons, make it clear that originally the Bill was intended, or at all events the proposal of the Inspector-General of Police was that it should refer only to the cases of previous convicts, previous convicts who had got two convictions against them. But later on other people who come under the clauses of section 110 were also brought in. We are told that this Bill was twice circulated for opinion and that opinions generally were in favour of the Bill. The Bill has never been discussed before. It was taken up yesterday in the Council meeting. I think it is obvious that there were a number of gentlemen who gave opinions on the Bill, which they had to modify when they came to study the Bill. It is also a question whether these opinions on the Bill, on which reliance was placed by the Hon'ble Member in charge, were really well considered opinions by gentlemen who had heard both sides of the case. I deny that. It happened as is well known --

'If you go alone by yourself to the Qazi, you succeed in obtaining an *ex-parte* decree against the other side.'

"Now that the Bill has been discussed at length I venture to hope that there will be a strong body of opinion against the need and efficacy of this measure. I want first to point out, Your Honour, that section 110 is part and parcel of an All India enactment, *i.e.,* Criminal Procedure Code. If that section is an inefficacious measure, why should not the Imperial Legislature be moved to amend it in order to make it more effective? In other words, if in any particular

Province, that this enactment should be amended, a case will have to be made out that the circumstances in that particular Province are different from those prevalent in other provinces wherein that measure has been in force for the last 50 or 60 years, and no one has thought fit to have this provision amended. Nor has the Imperial Council thought it necessary to have this enactment amended. So I contend that it has to be shown that here in the Punjab there are either more violent criminals or more habitual criminals than in other provinces or that our machinery to detect crime is less efficient than the machinery that prevails in other provinces. I claim that neither of these dual conditions is correct. Further, my contention is that the Hon'ble Member in charge is not right in saying that in the Punjab crime is on the increase. On the other hand, I claim that the administration is to be congratulated on reducing crime very materially during the last two or three, and possibly four years, and I claim that seeing that crime is on the decrease the administration has no justification for asking that an additional armour should be placed at their disposal in order to reduce crime. As a matter of fact we have seen that the Criminal Tribes Act is being enforced carefully and more efficiently with the result that itself has in all probability contributed to the decrease of crime. Why not allow that measure to have a longer term of experiment and see whether that by itself does not reduce crime materially and not at once hurry to the Legislature for an additional enactment in order to help in the reduction of crime? As I have stated before there can be two opinions as to the advisability for reducing crime as far as possible. The only question is how far it is necessary to go in order to secure that object and how far you should proceed to trespass on the liberty of the individual. Then not only we have got two positions that the crime is not on the increase and as the Hon'ble Member in charge has pointed out, that the adventurous spirits have gone abroad, but further that during the last 60 years we are certain of this fact that education has made rapid progress in this Province. Surely

after 60 years' educational movement in the Province it cannot be said that the conditions prevailing in the Province now are the same as they were 60 years ago. I also claim that our police administration has improved during the last 60 years. Then the natural question arises if the criminal tribes are better looked after than they were before, if crime is not on the increase, tribes are better looked after than they were before, and if education has made tremendous strides in this country, why, as I say if the police has also improved, add another armour to the armoury placed at the disposal of the administration to maintain peace and protect property? Where lies the need? There is no need at all. The Hon'ble Member in charge has pointed out that crime is due to two causes, either to evil inclinations of the offender or to starvation. I claim that neither of these two has made any progress in this Province, neither the evil inclinations of the man, if I may say so, have become worse to-day than they were 60 years ago, nor has the population of the Province as a whole become more starving than it used to be. As a matter of fact we are proud of the fact that economically the Province has made great progress, and there is less of starvation and crime. If these contentions of mine are correct, I claim that the Hon'ble Member in charge has not shown us any other reasons for this new Bill. I claim that the ground on which the Bill is based is taken away.

"The next point urged by the Hon'ble Member in charge was that section 110 as interpreted by the Chief Court was of no use. My reply to that would be that as a matter of fact that question is for the Indian Legislature to look at. In any case I am of opinion that the interpretations put upon these provisions of the law are correct, that they are the interpretations which any one who is imbued with the British notions of justice would have put upon those provisions of law, and I venture to point out that even the Hon'ble Member in charge, when he adorns the Chief Court bench of this province at some future date, will

support the ruling that he more or less appeared to criticise in his speech."

The Hon'ble Mr. Craik:- "I was careful to point out that I did not criticise the correctness of the rulings."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "What I meant was from the executive point of view as distinct from the judicial point of view. I have seen many District Magistrates who as District Magistrates have been in the habit of looking at these cases in a light which is quite different from the light in which they view them as Judicial officers. Then the next point which I want to place before the Council is whether the question of restriction order is really as simple and as humane as pointed out. I have already during the course of my amendments made certain observations about the nature of this order of restriction, and I do not want to repeat myself about it. I am still unconvinced in spite of the assurances given on the subject by my Hon'ble colleagues who have seen many people restricted to a particular area. I still feel that a person who lives on selling vegetables growing in a village adjoining Lahore, if he is restricted to his village, cannot earn his livelihood. I fail to see how he is going to make money to live on. The customers will not go to him to the village. He will have to come to the city in order to sell his vegetables However, if the Hon'ble Member is charge is so hopeful as to make rules which will permit the persons concerned to come and sell their vegetables, etc., I would consider it a very good thing indeed. But personally I do not believe that it is possible, and this is one of the reasons why I look upon this order of restriction as something really to be dreaded. My other reason, which is possibly due to the fact that I am not well acquainted with the administrative machinery, is this that anything which I have not known before I am afraid of. I have never heard of an order of restriction before, and naturally it frightens me; I have not heard of this order of restriction anywhere when

studying the criminal law of other civilized countries. It would have been interesting if the Hon'ble Member in charge had informed us that similar provisions exist in some of the civilized countries or in any other Province of India. We might have heard something like it in Russia, but that would hardly be a thing to be followed. Whatever the reasons, I may say I am genuinely opposed to this measure as a measure of punishment or for prevention of crime.

"As to previous convicts my contention is that the existing provisions of the criminal law, section 75 of the Indian Penal Code and section 565 of the Criminal Procedure Code, both give ample powers to the judiciary to restrain such persons from committing crime, even after they have left the prison, that is to say, under section 565 a person who has been convicted of an offence against property can be called upon to report himself under the rules to be framed by the Government at a particular police station for a period extending to three years after he has been released from jail. That I contend is a sufficient weapon at the disposal of government. Then why has the Hon'ble Member incharge stood firm against every attempt made for introducing amendment with regard to limiting the Bill to previous convicts? It seems that he wants to attain was a pretext to proceed against persons who were not previous convicts, but who came under the provisions of section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code. So far then as the merits of the Bill are concerned. Now it has been before this Council I claim that particular value should be attached by this Council, and by government to the reception given to this Bill in this council. Although a number of the Hon'ble Members had expressed opinions about the Bill before on their first reading, when they came to study the Bill with the object of seeing it through this Council, they felt, they would not support it or that they could not support it. Although it may be said that the Government cannot now after having proceeded so far, abandon the Bill, but at the same time it shows to Government how

strong the feeling is in the Council, and, I assure the Council, outside the Council as well.

"So far as the municipalities are concerned not a single. representative of any municipality on this Council has supported the Bill, but the others have not accorded it their support and have opposed it. So far as the nominated members are concerned, this Bill has received support from only two out of five nominated members present and three have opposed it."

"In the circumstances seeing that the Bill has been strongly opposed in the Council by even those who had originally expressed their approval of it generally, it should not, my submission is, be taken into consideration by the Council now or later on. I personally (representing an academic institution) venture to raise my humble voice against the Bill. My point of view is largely academic, my opposition is entirely based on a question of principle. We should try to educate the people out of their criminal tendencies, educate the people to co-operate among themselves to detect crime, and we should try to improve the police administration in order that they should detect crime and should not allow any crime go undetected. We should educate the people in such a way that they should not be inclined to commit crime as they are doing at present. With these few remarks I put my protest before the Council."

The Bill, as amended was put to the vote and passed by 16 to 6 votes.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS, 21st NOVEMBER, 1918

RESOLUTIONS ON AGENDA PAPER REGARDING CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain will move the following resolutions :-

3. This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Government of India that in the matter of Constitutional Reforms the Punjab be placed on the same footing and treated in the same manner as the three Presidencies.

4. This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Subjects Committee that all the Transferred subjects mentioned in List II of the Reform Scheme be placed under popular control in the Punjab.

5. This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Government of India that a system of Reserved and Transferred subjects similar to that proposed for the provinces be adopted for the Government of India.

6. This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Government of India that the following improvements be effected in the reforms proposed for the Provincial Legislatures : -

(i) There should be no additional member or members without portfolios in the Provincial Executive.

(ii) The status and salary of the ministers should be the same as that of the members of the Executive Council.

7. This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Government of India that the following improvements be effected in the reforms proposed for the Provincial Legislature :-

(i) President and Vice-President to be elected.

(ii) Elected members to constitute a majority of four-fifths.

(iii) The proposal to constitute a Grand Committee be dropped; and in case the Executive require some legislation as regards a reserved subject and cannot get it from the Provincial Legislature, it should have the power to refer the matter to the Government of India for the necessary legislation in the usual way. If, however, the Grand Committee is retained, it should be so constituted that half the members are elected by the Legislative Council, and out of the nominated members no more than two-thirds are officials.

8. This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Government of India that the proportion of Muhammadans in the Punjab Legislative Council as laid down in the Congress League Scheme be maintained.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- On behalf of the Hon'ble Sayed Rajan Shah I beg to move the following resolution :-

"This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to suggest to the Franchise Committee and to request the Governor-General in Council to provide that --

(*a*) the strength of the Punjab Legislative Council should not be less than 100 ;

(*b*) not less than four-fifths of the Council should be

elected and of the remaining one-fifth to be nominated by the Government, not more than one-half should be officials.

"I have to say a few words as to the strength of the Council and its constitution. Yesterday I believe this Council has passed a resolution to the effect that the status of the Punjab, so far as this Reforms Scheme is >?HPXnot be in any way behind the status and position of the three Presidencies and the United Provinces. Now it is often said that you cannot claim a very large number of representatives because of your population. How can you expect to have the same number of councillors in the Punjab with its population of less than half of what it is in Bengal? On the face of it this argument appears to be sound, but I will presently show that it is fallacious and at all events it is not adhered to by the Government of India in fixing the number of representatives for the various provinces. I understand that the population of this province is practically on a par with that of the Bombay Presidency, and we see that the Bombay Presidency is given the same number of councillors as the province of Bengal. So it would appear that at all events population is not the determining factor in the allotment of the number of representatives which are allotted to represent a particular province. Then one naturally expects that possibly money has got something to do with it. Is it because the Punjab is not so wealthy, not so rich that the number of representatives as compared with other provinces in small? Now so far as the question of money is concerned, again it is, as in the case of population, recognised that we are not as wealthy as Bengal or as Bombay, but we are not so very badly off as compared with Madras. Even if we are in the case of making money worse off than Madras, are we not better off than Madras in the matter of political capacity in sacrificing money? I claim that in the two war loans the contributions of the Punjab were third throughout India. That again shows political capacity. So

on the score of population, on the score of area, on the score of wealth, surely representatives are not allotted to the different provinces in India. Neither population, nor wealth, nor area count. Then one naturally hears the usual expression 'political advancement.' Now, Sir, I venture to assert that beautiful phrase 'political advancement' has never yet been defined and I wonder whether it has been understood by two individuals in the same sense. What does 'political advancement' mean? Does it mean the willingness on the part of the people to bear the burdens of administration, that is to say, to pay taxes willingly in order to carry on efficient administration and in the case of serious disturbances to show willingness to reduce them and in the case of aggression from outside to be ready to repel any enemy? If that is so, I claim that the Punjab stands foremost and is politically more advanced than any other province of India. If, on the other hand, some misguided people understand 'political advancement' to mean talking a great deal about politics and going further and taking absolutely illegal steps in order to secure their foolish ideals and in other ways to having recourse to anarchical methods and things of that description, one has only to refer to the Rowlatt Committee's Report to see that Bengal leads all provinces in that direction. But even there considering the wretched Conspiracy Trial that we have had here, the Punjab does not come last either. So I really do not see whether we take these foolish tests, or whether we take the sensible test, that the Punjab in any way can be said to attain position lower than second or third throughout India whichever test you apply. Therefore my contention is that when the case of the representation on the Legislative Council is concerned, the strength of the Punjab ought not to be behind other provinces and I understand that all provinces have claimed for not less than 100 members. So far about part (*a*) of my resolution. As to part (*b*) it is conceded in the report that there should be a 'substantial majority,' again a beautifully vague expression. It has been considered by Indians who have

devoted some thought to these problems, that knowing the constitution of the present Council, four-fifths is a safe majority of elected members to enable them to assert themselves and that inasmuch as our official members are there as informants, nothing is to be gained by taking away their time from their official duties if it can be helped, and therefore the suggestion is that their strength should not exceed one-half of this. So we realise that it is necessary for minorities to be adequately represented, but we hope and trust that representation accorded to minorities will be accorded, as far as possible, by way of election. So that they may even from now begin their political education without delay. If the Sikh community is to have representation let them have that representation by way of election and not by way of nomination. Similarly they have other important interests — commercial interests, educational interests, let those also be represented through the machinery of election. The reason why we are so persistent about the method of returning these members is that when in any particular institution there are different members working as colleagues it is necessary for the sake of co-operation that the systems which have led them to come into the Legislative Council should be more or less the same. Not that I mean that nominated members — our colleagues — do not have the same ideals as we possess, but simply this that the mere fact of a different machinery having been adopted for returning them does create a certain feeling of estrangement between them which of course ordinarily should not exist but which does exist. Therefore we attach a good deal of importance to this that the number of elected members should be very large and should make provisions for minorities. But if there are certain minorities which must be represented by nomination then of course they come in as shareholders to the extent of one-half of the 20 per cent which is left out. With these words I commend this resolution to the Council."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "Sir, I move the resolution No. 8 standing in my name, which runs as follows : -

"This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Government of India that the proprortion of Muhammadans in the Punjab Legislative Council as laid down in the Congress League Scheme be maintained.

"And also include, on his behalf part (*c*) of resolution No. 25 standing in the name of the Hon'ble Sayed Makhdum Rajan Shah, which is as follows : -

" 'This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to suggest to the franchise Committee and to request the Governor-General in Council to provide that --

" '(*c*) The proportion of Muhammadan elected members should be 50 per cent or at least that fixed by the Congress League Scheme.'

"There are certain questions which require elaborate discussion in that one begins from primary principles and sees what conclusions are to be drawn, and how, by virtue of reasoning, one arrives at a particular decision. but this matter fortunately for me is not of that description. First we have the undertaking, given by several Viceroys in succession, that the Mussalmans will have separate representation. Over and above that, representatives of both the great communities met two years ago at Calcutta and with reference to different Provinces, including ours, came to a certain agreement. That agreement was ratified at the Lucknow Conference. After the coming out of this Reform Scheme there have been a number of pronouncements on the subject. First, the special All-India Congress held at Bombay ratified that agreement, that is to say, that the proportion fixed for Mussalman representation should be the same as was decided on at Lucknow. One might have

thought that possibly the All-India Moderate's Conference might have differed from the other institution, but they also ratified it and passed a similar resolution. Then next in order of time came the Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla last September. They also in their report made the same recommendation as was made by other two institutions. Then we take into consideration what has been done in other Provinces."

"In Bengal and in the United Provinces to my knowledge the proportion that was fixed for those Provinces has been ratified. The subject has been engaging the attention of the political institutions in this Province and the central institution in Lahore and after consideration of the whole subject I may say that they also came to the same conclusions that it is in the best interests of all concerned that the agreements arrived at before the Reform Scheme should in no way be disturbed because of the Reform Scheme and that we should simply stick to them. In view of these facts it is not necessary for me to go into any elaborate details. I have not the slightest doubt that in a matter like this I will have the hearty support of my colleague Hon'ble Chaudhri Lal Chand who relies a great deal upon population figures. He also thought that in this matter the arrangement arrived at of 50 per cent instead of 54 per cent representation is by no means excessive. If anything, it is within moderate limits. As I have said it is not any particular principle except that principle of settling disputed points that this belief is reached. There may be men amongst us who say that communal representation is not an ideal thing at all. I am one of them myself, but if this is my personal opinion, I frankly say that this is not the opinion I share with my co-religionists at all. They have thought that at this stage of their development if they did not have communal representation. they will suffer very much. And if I were to observe on their behalf that there should be a common electoral roll I would not be stating their views. They want separate ,communal representation with a separate elec-

toral role, and as I have said the political institutions of this Province have agreed to let them have this in view of the fact that this was the arrangement arrived at between them before the Reforms Scheme was proposed. I trust that this Council like the Councils of United Provinces and Bengal will see its way to concede what has been done elsewhere."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Diwan Daulat Rai:- "The only difficulty arises from the fact that the majority of Hindus do regard the Sikhs as belonging to their own community."

The Hon'ble Mr. Maynard:- "May I again point out that there are two views about this question? We know many Hindus do regard the Sikhs as a portion of them and probably are vexed because the Sikhs do not take this position. We also know that some Sikhs take that view and some do not. We have got to take a position which will enable us to understand the stand-point of our neighbours."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "I am afraid, Sir, that there is on this question some misapprehension in the mind of the chair. It is not a point on which any particular fanaticism is being shown which would go to the length of condemning the Indians for being not practical. I can assure you that this question has been considered in a number of political bodies of Indians with a great deal of sobriety and an attempt has invariably been made to come to a certain decision. The absolute aloofness of the Sikh community relying not so much on their rights as upon hopes of favouritism has led them to refuse to discuss this question in any form whatsoever with anybody of Indians. Under the circumstances to say that now under your guidance we should show practical sense by coming to a conclusion when demands so preposterous as those which have been made here on representation are put forward, cannot possibly leave any choice either to

Hindus or Muhammadans to think of the possibilities of a compromise being arrived at. You say that it would be best to leave the matter to impartial persons. Undoubtedly. The matter cannot but rest with these impartial persons, whatever the recommendations of this body may be. I believe majorities, whether Indians or belonging to other countries, more or less tend to tyrannies over minorities. Those persons who spoke about representative franchise this afternoon felt that the majority was tyrannising over them, and I have not the slightest doubt that knowing the figures as we did, your sympathies were with the minority. So my submission is that this resolution which has been passed by other Councils which have a minority of Muhammadans and which was confirmed by the Imperil Legislative Council is surely not such a resolution the passage of which could cause so much difficulty in this Council."

The Hon'ble Mr. Maynard:- "I am afraid in view of the attitude of the Council as a whole nothing remains but to proceed formally and put the amendment to the Council. The amendment is that the words 'subject to the just claims of the Sikhs' be added to the resolution."

The amendment was put and lost by 6 to 2 votes.

The Hon'ble Mr Maynard:- "I shall now proceed to put the resolution."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Diwan Daulat Rai:- "There is some misapprehension in the minds of some of us in regard to whether the proportion of Muhammadan elected members should be 50 per cent, or that fixed by the Congress League Scheme. The Congress-League Scheme put forward certain conditions. Does the Hon'ble Member accept those conditions?"

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "Yes."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Diwan Daulat Rai:- "We might add the words: 'subject to those conditions'."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "Yes, my resolution says: 'the proportion fixed in the Congress-League Scheme.' Ordinarily I would not have referred to that scheme at all."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Diwan Daulat Rai:- "You might say: 'fixed by the Congress-League Scheme subject to the conditions mentioned therein;."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "I agree." The resolution as amended was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain:- "I beg to move the following resolution :-

" 'This Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to represent to the Government of India that a system of Reserved and Transferred Subjects similar to that proposed for the provinces be adopted for the Government of India.'

"You will see that this resolution is worded very modestly, that is to say, there is no attempt made to demand that a large number of subjects be transferred at once to popular control but it does require that something even in the Government of India should be handed over to popular assemblies. In the Imperial Legislative Council and in the Press arguments for and against it have been given. We realize that the Home Member and His Excellency the Viceroy did state: 'We have gone in this scheme as far as it is possible for us to do and we do not favour any further advancement.' But still in spite of that statement we have considered it highly desirable to press for consideration this further advance which we think is absolutely necessary in order to put an appropriate interpretation on the announcement of 20th August, 1917, and we claim that the gift of responsible Government, the first initial stage of it,

cannot be considered substantial until this particular claim of ours has been made and has been granted. As I said there is no difference of opinion amongst Indians on the subject. Political workers of all shades of opinion are agreed that a beginning must be made. With these few words, with your permission, I place this resolution before this Council."

The Resolution was put and agreed to

AN ASSESSMENT OF MONTAGU CHALMSFORD REFORMS

In the first half of the 19th century the sovereignty of India passed out of Muslim hands into British hands. The responsibility for the events of 1857 was laid at the door of the Muslims and this made the thoughtful section of them think of their future position in India. It took the Indian Muslims a quarter of a century to make up their minds and the result was the great Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh's policy of concentrating on education and avoiding of political agitation of an acute kind. A few Muslims joined the Indian National Congress but the community as a whole stood apart.

As reaction to twenty years of inactivity, the All-India Muslim League "came into being in 1906, and the co-operation between the Congress and the League culminated in their agreement of 1916 which was to form the basis of Montagu Chelmsford reforms. Thus in the first decade of the 20th century, Muslim India reconsidered its policy, and in the second decade formulated a new one. Had it not been for the world war, things may have been different but the problem of political advance was pressing and the Indian Muslims decided that inspite of being a minority in India, they will not stand in the way of their mother-land placing before itself the goal of self-Government. Indian

Muslims realised that most of them were of the same blood as their Hindu brethren, that many of them were of mixed blood and those who had come to India with Muslim invaders had settled down in India for many centuries and had made India their home, and had no home outside India, that they were natives of India just as their Hindu brethren were natives of India. The mere fact that they professed a religion which was professed by inhabitants of other countries also made no difference. Just as Afghans would not like Iranian domination and Iranians would not like Iraqi domination and Iraqis would not like Arabian domination and Arabs would not like Turkish domination, there is no occasion for Indians to doubt the genuine feeling of Indian Muslims for Indian nationalism. Our cultural and spiritual links with Muslims of other countries do not and cannot prevent us from following purely national programme for Self-government.

Having made their choice, they were ready for political advance and the 1916 agreement between the League and the Congress was the result - Hindu leaders assured Muslim leaders of their religious and cultural integrity and readily agreed to separate representation through separate electorates and assured the Muslim leaders of adequate representation in the future, as the Muslim community took to politics. Unfortunately, the co-operation did not last long.

What would the Muslims do in the matter of further reforms? The Muslim leaders gave this matter their most careful consideration and came to the conclusion that they were in a minority and at that, a weak minority. Though the attitude of their powerful sister community had been cold and distant, their patriotism and their sence of self-respect and honour did not permit their going back on their ideal of self-government for the country. So they decided to ask for the maximum of reforms and to this objective they adhered all along. They knew that provincial

autonomy in Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Bombay and Assam, would spell ruin for them if worked in a communal spirit but they hoped that better sense will prevail, and all communities would work for the betterment of their mother land instead of against each other, and in return they only want to have the satisfaction of being majority community in the Frontier Province, Punjab, Sind and Bengal, knowing full well that their majority in the Punjab and Bengal was only nominal, while Frontier Province on account of its geographical position and economic condition was not likely to have much of real provincial autonomy. Thus the Muslims were not improving their communal position in any way, but still they were for political advance. Why? They are for this political advance, surely from a national motive. Their objective therefore in the matter of representation was to secure such position as would enable them to have a majority in the legislatures of four provinces. They succeeded in the case of three provinces but failed in the case of Bengal. In the case of Central Legislature, they retained their proportion to a certain extent but with the extinction of the official block, from a communal point of view, they are not going to be as strong in the future as in the past. But here again their motive for political advance was national and not communal. They failed to secure a clear enunciation of their undoubted right to adequate representation in services in provinces but have been feeling that their case is so strong that no Government claiming to be civilised will be in a position to refuse their just demand. They are not elated by the successes achieved, nor are they too depressed by the failures suffered. Success and failure in life and particularly in political life are inevitable and regardless of them we should go on.

India is now entering a new phase of political life. Indian Muslims are ready to take their due share in developing political life in the best interests of the country.

Their political goal is dominion status. They feel India's most pressing needs are, externally securing recognition in other countries. Indians are not fairly treated whether in dominions or in colonies.

At home Indians must have economic reorganization — there is a wide gulf between different sections of Indians — extreme poverty, hunger and nakedness, emaciated enfeebled body, ignorance — human beings by courtesy only. Add to this economically depressed. With this denial of divinity in mankind, there is a denial of human brotherhood and we have developed intolerance in matters religious and sectarian. The whole economic, social and religious fabric calls for immediate relief — uplift of the weak — economically, intellectually, culturally, that there may be left no one to be called downtrodden. Faith is a matter of individual convictions and should not be allowed to create ill-will between the various communities of India. Islam teaches tolerance.

Conclusion:

The future programme is for "uplift", personal, spiritual, moral, intellectual, economical; not only personal, not only of the families, but also of the poor, the masses, the needy and the backward. It is this noble work of uplift with which we should concern ourselves irrespective of considerations of caste, colour and creed, thus the prescription which thoughtful Indians prescribe for the betterment of India is "uplift" at home, securing her people honourable position abroad.

Section 4

FAZL-I-HUSAIN

MINISTER OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT
PUNJAB GOVERNMENT

SPEECHES IN THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL 1920-25

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF ZAMINDARS
PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS
25TH OCTOBER, 1921

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain - Now there are just a few things which have been said in the course of the debate on this important question — the question of education — which it would not be right on my part to leave unnoticed in view of the possibility of a misunderstanding being created. Now one of the Hon'ble members tried to make out that nothing has been done for education in the rural areas. Well, Sir, such wholesale condemnations are the result either of ignorance or of intentional ignoring of facts. In the year 1917, at the time when the famous resolution of the Government of India was passed after the Darbar at Delhi, the number of students in our rural schools was 1,91,747. The Punjab Government took up the work of expanding primary education in rural areas with the result that three years after that time the number rose by nearly 65,000 to 256,137. In face of that no critic, no fair critic could possibly say that during those three years — 1917-18 to 1920 — the Punjab Government did not do its duty in the way of expanding primary education. Though I have been during that period one of the most vigilant critics of the Punjab Government I must say that recognition for the good work done in this direction must be given to the Government.

Then another point was raised that schools are not available and that Government should make schools avail

able and then the expansion of vernacular education will proceed apace. That again discloses that it is easier to talk of education at random than to know facts and base allegations on those facts. As a matter of fact even if only this resolution had been studied by the hon'ble member who made these observations he would have seen that the Director of Public Instruction complains that the number of primary schools in existence is sufficient, but the number of pupils in those schools is comparatively small, with the result that the cost of education in primary schools per head is large. What we want is to bring in boys to those schools. Then the question arises, how? — Easy enough ! — Compel them. But it must be remembered that compulsion can be exercised only under definite laws. Does our Primary Education Act confer that power on your Minister or even on you to compel boys to attend schools? Certainly not. What is required is enlightened local opinion in rural areas. What we want is that either public opinion in rural areas should be created, or that this Council should amend the Primary Education Act and enable the Government to introduce the element of compulsion in those rural areas. If this is done and yet Government is found wanting in courage to enforce that rule of law, then it could be said that the Government is not doing its duty.

Then again it was said, why is it that primary education is not extended more and more? The reply, is you cannot keep your money and at the same time spend it. Primary education, like every other form of education, needs money. Have we got it? This Council, Sir, was generous enough to vote a small amount of 30 lakhs for that purpose.

A voice. — On paper only.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain— At present that little sum of money has not found its way to the hands of the Director of Public Instruction. Simply by passing votes — this lip loyalty to the cause of primary ed-

ucation — I cannot be expected to do the work. What is wanted is money. Without money it cannot be done. I gave in round figures before what the annual bill for free compulsory primary education would come to. It will amount to somewhat like a crore and a quarter a year.

The next point made was, why is it necessary to train teachers? One of the easiest of criticisms that can be made is that it does not matter whether teachers are trained or not. May I mention, Sir, that even an untrained teacher is not prepared to do honorary work. He also desires to be paid; and considering what we pay the primary school teachers — even the trained one — I do not think much saving can be effected even if we were to employ untrained teachers, whose pay ranges between Rs. 18 and 20 — an amount on which the members of this Council probably find it difficult to secure even a single domestic servant. And we cannot employ untrained teachers, Sir, because we have not got money for them. There is the further difficulty not fully realized that without your own buildings money has to be spent in hiring buildings. It is clear that you cannot have your teachers without payment and you do require money for that. It is no use being eloquent on the question of primary education and when the time comes to vote money for it — money that will be paid to the Director of Public Instruction — then to appoint a retrenchment committee hoping to save money for education.

Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz. — I was stopped when I was coming to the question of cost.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain. — I am very glad you were. Well, Sir, it is easy enough to quote instances of countries which the hon'ble member and I have not had the pleasure of visiting, as, for instance, the Philippines. I suppose the population there is as much as that of a single district in this great province of ours. Or again, Japan, where, I suppose, normally speaking, buildings are a luxury. But when it comes to citing the instance

of Baroda, then, Sir, I claim that our Director of Public Instruction, if he had not to attend Council meetings and give an account of his stewardship, but his only work were to turn out a beautiful report showing the great expansion of primary education in his province he could do it better than it is done in Baroda. But has the hon ble member been to Baroda and seen what that primary education has produced? Can he show that after the great expansion of vernacular and primary education in Baroda during the last 15 years, Baroda has really become a great place as compared with any British territory? Because, as they say in Punjabi, (Drums from afar sound pleasant).

I am afraid I cannot attach any importance to the instances which have been cited by the hon'ble member.

In conclusion, Sir, I wish to assure the Council that the interests of education in rural areas are naturally very dear to me and to the Government, as the rural area, contain at present the backward classes and backward classes have a special claim to the consideration of the Government. It is not right to say that the backward people cannot understand their own interests. I submit that the Director of Public Instruction and others can supply the necessary expert knowledge. I would welcome this committee if this Council wants to appoint it in order to ascertain what the rural members themselves — can urge in regard to the sort of education they want. We are trying to do our best for them, but we would like to know from them their particular local needs. An hon'ble member said he does not want the pupils who come to these schools to imbibe such high flown notions of their future life as to give up agriculture. That is a very sound observation to make. I trust he will be able to show how that can be done. It is, Sir, in this light that I have decided not to oppose the resolution which has been moved by the hon'ble member.

Mr. President. — The motion before the Council is—

" This Council recommends to the Government to appoint a committee consisting of the Minister for Education, the Minister for Agriculture, the Director of Public Instruction, the Director of Agriculture, seven zamindar members of the Council and the mover to report by next session on the educational needs of zamindars."

The motion was carried.

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS, 6th MAR. 1923

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Minister for Education): Sir, we have listened to a very interesting debate, and some members in the course of their speeches have referred to education. I believe in this general discussion the Council expects me to tell what has been done in the way of developing education, and economising. So far as higher education is concerned we have had a nice chemical laboratory built and we have made a grant of nearly a lakh of rupees to the University. If a prescription to turn brass or ore metal into gold can be discovered in that chemical laboratory the difficulties of the future Government in the matter of Budget would very easily be solved.

So far as secondary education is concerned, the Director of Public Instruction addressed himself to the problem and has been able to bring in at least 1,500 more boys into secondary schools without increasing the expenditure of those schools in any way.

So far as elementary education is concerned I believe it is already known that something like 70,000 pupils have been added to the population of the primary schools. That is entirely due to the efforts of the inspection department

in persuading the villagers to open schools and send their children to those schools. It is expected that during the course of the next year the number of pupils going to primary schools will increase and there will be an addition of about a lakh or thereabouts.

No scheme of expansion of primary or secondary education can succeed unless the number of trained teachers is considerably increased. This is a subject which has been engaging the attention of the Director of Public Instruction. He has made provision for the training of 1,000 more teachers. I may mention, Sir, that this addition of a thousand trained teachers has cost the Province practically nothing. That is a thing on which the Council may well congratulate Mr. Anderson. The House may remember that in 1919-20 schemes for adding to the training institutions had been sanctioned. There were the schemes of the Hoshiarpur Training College, the Lyallpur Training College, and the Jullundur Training College. These schemes were estimated to cost five lakhs capital expenditure and sixty or seventy thousand a year recurring expenditure. All these schemes have been abandoned, and yet additional 1,000 teachers are being trained. This result Mr. Anderson has been able to achieve practically without any additional capital or recurring expenditure. The House may very well ask how this has been achieved. This has been achieved by combining the Junior Vernacular and the Senior Vernacular and Senior Vernacular Training institutions, he has got one institution to train both classes of teachers with the result that the expenditure on the supervising staff of the institutions has been reduced, as also the cost of having separate buildings has been saved. Not only has there been a saving in the matter of constructing buildings, but there has been a saving of recurring charges. He has besides added some rooms in the High Schools and there housed some of the Junior and Senior Vernacular classes. That again has contributed to economy in expenditure.

Not only has he thus secured the expansion of facilities for training teachers economically without additional expenditure on additional buildings, but he has successfully done away with the pestilence of the inspecting agency. We used to have special inspecting officers going all over the Province; specialists in Chemistry to see how Chemistry was being taught in schools, specialists in Drawing to see how Drawing was taught in the schools and so on. This was the case in 1919-20 and 1920-21. We were able to place our fingers on these posts of inspectors and abolished them. Besides doing away with some of the special inspectors we have been able to localise others—that is say, formerly there was no one institution to which they belonged. They roamed all over the Province. Now they have been fixed in the Central Training College and only when they are called on to inspect a particular institution about which there is a bad report that they can go out. They are no longer masters of their time and they cannot go to any place they like.

Then, Sir, Mr. Anderson has done away with the idea that an inspecting officer of primary schools should not inspect more than 50 schools. He has increased the number of schools to be inspected by the inspection staff to 80 and more. In this way, although there has been increase in the number of primary schools the number of inspection staff has not been increased proportionately.

In the matter of the recruitment of these primary school inspectors he has been exceedingly successful in choosing these men who can mix with the villagers and persuade them to let the schools have their buildings and also to persuade them to send in their children to such schools. This part of his work has been of no less importance than others I have mentioned.

Then, Sir, his economising efforts have extended to what was said to be the most extravagant part of the Education Department—of building palaces. Government no

doubt is artistic in its taste, but it is certainly against all expenditure in making artistic buildings costly. It feels that the Province is not rich enough to afford costly buildings. Simply hygienic rooms with enough light are good enough for the Punjab. The result is that the cost of a primary school of the so-called standard plan which used to cost Rs. 4,000 has been now brought down to Rs. 2,000. High Schools which were expected to cost over a lakh are now not to cost more than Rs. 50,000. Where aided institutions were expected to show beautiful designs with very large grounds and glazed windows, and their claims for grants-in-aid were said to have been refused, because they were considered weak; it has now been made clear to everyone that what we want is a clean, nice, commodious, well-lighted building, and that no claim for a grant-in-aid will be considered weak as long as these conditions are fulfilled. In the matter of College buildings, I, need only point out, Sir, that the Ludhiana College building scheme which was prepared in 1919 was estimated to cost 9 lakhs. Its present estimate is 5 lakhs and it is expected that it will be cut down still more. Therefore the criticism that the Education Department insists upon expensive buildings and makes the people lock up their money in costly palaces, is no longer true. On the other hand some artistic people have told me that we have gone too far.

Sir, now I come to the matter of vernacular education. This branch of the department has been able to secure very good results and at the minimum expenditure. The Director of Public Instruction has been ably assisted in this work by Sayed Maqbul Shah, the Inspector of Vernacular Education, and in the matter of reducing expense in our Training Schools by Mr. Tydeman who has been our Inspector of Training Institutions. The Retrenchment Committee has acknowledged that in many cases in the Education Department, economy has already been affected and is being attempted. Certain suggestions have been made with reference to the Institute of Commerce. That matter

has been engaging the attention of the Director of Public Instruction already and we hope to effect economy there as well. He has already appointed a committee of retrenchment in order to reduce the cost of school furniture in view of the growing demand of the Province in the matter.

We have already reduced the grant for sweets for school boys, to almost nothing. We have ruthlessly cut down that item, leaving a little for His Excellency and Deputy Commissioners, who are good enough to take interest in the matter of education, for them to distribute when they visit these schools.

Then with reference to Industrial Schools, we have almost done what the Retrenchment Committee suggested. Thus it would appear that in all its branches there is nothing in the way of reduction that should have been done which we have not already done, and that there is nothing that could be attempted which we are not attempting.

I had forgotten to mention that even in the case of high posts we have actually gone to the length of not filling those posts during the current year. I am referring to post of the Inspector of European Education; I am referring to the post of the Professor of Classical Languages in the Government College, Lahore. Similarly, there are two or three other high posts which have not been filled and thus a saving has been effected.

Then, Sir, I wish to mention that the matter of the expansion of female education in the Province has not been neglected. The department has not been neglectful of its needs. It is only right to mention that in the matter of female education a great deal of help has been rendered to Mr. Anderson by Miss Stratford, the Chief Inspectoress of Schools, and Miss Bose whose connection with female ed-

ucation goes as far back as the very starting of the female education movement in Lahore.

Then, Sir, I have often been told: "Well, well, you do spoil our children. Why don't you improve the curriculum ?" Finding that this advice came from very many quarters and from many educated people who were not doing educational work, I was inclined to wait a little, but feeling the need I have actually appointed a committee to overhaul the curriculum of the primary classes. I may mention that while cursorily glancing at educational papers of various self-governing countries like England and America I saw that they are all dissatisfied with their various carricula adopted in those countries. They all say that their curricula stand in need of improvement, and apparently they have not succeeded in getting what they want. Let us hope that the day will come when we will find ourselves in a better position than those countries and that in this matter we will be able to set them an example.

Now, Sir, passing on from education, I will deal with one or two other matters. I want, Sir, to say that I very much want to join my other nonofficial members in congratulating the Finance Member, but while they are ready to congratulate him because he has cut down 68 lakhs, I cannot congratulate him because he has cut down 15 or more lakhs from my department, with the result that, Sir, even if all my grants on Education go through, I will be 6 lakhs poorer than I was last year, with the prospect of a lakh of children hungry for education begging me to educate them. What am I to do ? How am I to do with 6 lakhs less than last year ? Last year's budget was Rs. 99,26,500—by last year I mean the year ending 31st March, 1923. The Council was good enough to give me Rs. 4 lakhs and odd thousands during the course of this year as supplementary grants. So the total amount which fell to my lot last year came to Rs. 1,02,21,000, with the result that I am Rs. 1 lakh short. Then I may mention that out of this year's

grant I have to give Rs. 2,50,000 by way of stipends to the sons of soldiers who fought for the Empire. Two-and-a-half lakhs and one lakh make 3-1/2 lakhs. Then the grant for Civil Works is 2-1/2 lakhs shorter as compared with last year. Three-and-a-half lakhs and 2-1/2 lakhs shorter as compared with last year. Three-and-a-half lakhs and 2-1/2 lakhs make 6 lakhs. Thus you will see that I am 6 lakhs short. That is my financial position.

I was having a talk the other day with a friend of mine, a member of my constituency, and he said he had devoted a great deal of attention to this important subject and incidentally he mentioned also: " Well, I want to say something to you. I want you to be prepared. My advice is this You have been told that your income is between 9 and 10 crores. You say that the expenditure is crores. You say that the Province is going to spend normally 2 crores or so on canal. Canal will feed you, protect you, from starvation will make your bodies stronger, you will be healthier and so on. This process will go on for 6, 7, 8, or 10 years. You are going to borrow two crores each year, and I believe you will be spending 15 lakhs or so additional interest every year. You tell me that all your schemes are postponed for a short time, but I assure you that they are postponed for the next ten years. My advice you is that you had better get out of it. There is nothing to be gained. It will do you no good. Next eight years you may probably be called upon to start on closing down schools and colleges. It is very likely that someone else on a much lesser pay will be prepared to do this task. This must continue for the next years". I said to him that this would never happen. He said that he was very sorry that he had disappointed me but the plain truth was that there was nothing to be done. He added that "Even if you imposed taxation it will bring about a crore a year, it will bring you a crore or so". No doubt, I assured him that children who were ignorant were no good, that children who were ignorant and had money, would go bad; that they would be very expensive, that they

would be rowdy and Police would be required. He said, "Well, no." Well, Sir, I do not know whether this constituent of mine was serious, but I was not able to convince him that I could be useful under the present circumstances. In spite of all the retrenchment effected, he was not satisfied. I also told him that there must be something wrong in that figure. He naturally asked me to show him where it was wrong; and I said that as I was not a financier, the mere fact that I was not able to convince him did not show that my position was bad. So, Sir, the position is that the beneficent departments really have their scope of beneficence very much narrowed, if not entirely curtailed.

Passing on, Sir, to my other departments — the Medical Department, which gives relief to the sick and the diseased, I cannot say that very much in the shape of economy has yet been effected. We are looking into the matter and during the last two or three months, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals has been most active in taking stock of the Department, and no doubt in course of time he and I both will be able to effect what economies we can in that line.

Now, Sir, I come to the last department which I believe so far as our budget is concerned does not figure in the budget papers as very badly off as we are and perhaps worse they can do nothing in the way of expansion, and by effecting retrenchments in expenditure, they can barely maintain the institutions. So all that I can show, Sir, in the shape of results is constitutional. That is to say, the franchise in the local bodies had been made more democratic. If they have got no money to start schemes of expansion, they have at all events got a large number of people who have been given votes. In the district boards, it is said the funds are not plentiful but at all events much larger number of rural people in the Punjab have got votes now as compared with those two years ago. I may say that their number is trebled.

Then, Sir, there is another advance. When I took over charge of these departments, the number of non-official chairmen was 21. I believe they are now 47. In that way the Province has to show considerable advance. I find, Sir, that during the next few months, if I stay on, the only useful work that I can do is that work which does not require money, but which requires the giving of good many reforms. I was therefore feeling anxious whether similar sort of work could also be found for my colleague ? If this is not possible otherwise, then the possibility of amalgamating the departments of the ministers so that they may give constitutional advancement to the people together.

There is one more point. The Honourable the Finance Member did put forward a proposal for fresh taxation. We are all against it. We do not want it. Now has it been realised by the members, as it has been realised by me, that the additional taxation that the Legislative Assembly may impose in the case of all taxes will be levied from the Punjab as well. Perhaps it is 4-1/2 crores additional that they are going to get from the salt, 60 lakhs will go from the salt tax. I am sure that with our capacity for the consumption of salt, about 60 lakhs will go from Punjab. We are therefore subject to being taxed by a lot of people higher up; and when it comes to our range, we naturally hesitate because it is not a good thing. I have been told that the Punjab pays twice as much to the Government outside the Punjab than it pays to its own Provincial Government. If such is the situation, then why worry so much ? Sir, I hope that the budgets of the future years will be better than the Budget of this year. And I hope, Sir, that the new method adopted by the Finance Department, as was said by the Honourable member representing Hindu Landowners, on his advice does not work adversely so far as the interests of the beneficent departments are concerned. I am referring to those remarks that it was at his request that the Government has adopted new methods of preparing the budget, *i.e.,* the separation of the capital account, both income

and expenditure, and using it to reduce the expenditure under productive capital expenditure. Then, Sir, is it possible that this may be responsible for showing the deficit in the ordinary Budget of the Province. Then, Sir, it has been said that every year in the ordinary Budget of the Province, there is a considerable figure which is by way of capital expenditure, expenditure of a permanent nature, like colleges, hospitals, etc., and up till now that expenditure was met from not only the current revenues in the shape of income but also from income from sales of land; and it seems to me that there was nothing improper in that. Surely it is legitimate to sell one piece of land to buy another to build on it, or sell some property to buy another property; and after all wherever you build, you are incurring expenditure. That of course will not affect more than 60 or 70 lakhs, but still in these days when your funds are running low, you can not ignore 60 or 70 lakhs.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

ADMISSION TO GOVERNMENT, MEDICAL AND TRAINING COLLEGES. PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS 10th JUNUARY, 1922

1176. Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath: Will the Hon'ble Minister for Education be pleased to state whether orders have been issued by him to the Principals of the Government, Medical and Training Colleges to the effect the admission to these institutions must be regulated on a communal basis, *viz.,* Muhammadans 40 per cent., Sikhs 20 per cent. and others 40 per cent. including 5 per cent, from North-West Frontier Province

If so, will he be pleased to lay on the table the instructions issued by him?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain: No such instructions have been given in connection with the Central Training College.

1. In regard to the Government College, I would refer to the answer given to question No. 741, a copy of which is placed on the table.

2. With regard to the King Edward Medical College, a copy of the instructions* issued to the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals is laid on the table.

*Letter No. 29265-Medl., dated the 23rd November 1921, from Secretary to Government, Punjab, Transferred Departments, to the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab.

3. In the case of the Central Training College, it has not been found necessary to issue any instructions.

(a) The following statistics show that there has been a paucity of Muhammadans at Government College for some years past :-

Percentage of Muhammadan students rolls of the College for the past five years—

1916-17	...	23.2 per cent
1917-18	...	15.2 per cent
1918-19	...	19.2 per cent
1919-20	...	18.9 per cent
1920-21	...	23.2 per cent

(b) A different procedure has been adopted in regulating admissions this year with the result that 43 out of 64 Muhammadan applicants have been admitted.

(c) While recognizing that larger number of Muhammadans should be admitted to the college, Government does not feel that half the vacancies can be awarded to Muhammadans forthwith. If suitable and duly qualified Muhammadan Candidates are forthcoming they will be admitted up to 40 per cent. of the total number of new admissions, *i.e.*, admissions of students (previously reading in other institutions) to the first and third years' classes.

No.29205-Medl, dated the 23rd November 1921.

From—The Secretary to Government, Punjab, Transferred Department,

To—The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab.

In continuation of Punjab government letter No.27626, dated the 8th November, 1921, I am directed by the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) to say that for the present admissions to the King Edward Medical College, Lahore, should be regulated with a view to attaining the following distributions :-

Muhammadans	...	...	40 per cent.
Sikhs	...	...	20 per cent.
Others	...	...	40 per cent.

This is for admissions from the Punjab and exclusive of five students to be admitted annually from the North-West Frontier Province.

(2) It should be understood that within each of these percentage groups; educational qualifications will be the sole test, subject to the existing concession to the sons of medical men.

(3) 40 per cent, is the minimum percentage guaranteed to Muhammadans with requisite qualifications, provided they have passed in the Second Division.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS 15 MARCH 1923.

THE BUDGET - LIST OF DEMANDS

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Minister for Education) : Sir, I am very glad indeed that the Honourable mover of this amendment has after all brought this matter before the Council to look into those departments which are in charge of a Minister. I wish he had done this in the very beginning, and settled the matter on the floor of this Council whether his suspicions because after all so far as I can see they are nothing else but suspicions — are well founded or not. I am also glad, Sir, that this opportunity has been taken to start a convention — a healthy convention — to show that the Ministers are not irresponsible persons who can do what they like: they are responsible to this Council for every act of theirs, and this Council is entitled to call upon them to account for such measures to which any section of the members, nay, even a single member of this Council, object. Sir, I am grateful to the mover of this amendment for affording me an opportunity not only of removing his suspicions, but also of combating the indefinite vague and acrimonious propaganda conducted by a certain section of the Punjab Press against me and against what is called my communal policy.

Now, Sir, while I am glad indeed to avail myself of this opportunity, I can assure the House that there is nothing further from my desire than to enter into personalities for which a beautiful opening was given to me by the honourable mover of this amendment. I do not wish to start a chapter of self-laudation as to what I have been considered to be by my own community or by other commu-

nities because we are ourselves likely to make mistakes as to the reputation we enjoy amongst our friends and amongst our people. I can assure the honourable member that he is not justified in saying that the reputation he enjoys is altogether of a satisfactory nature. He could have improved upon it in his younger days, but I must say that he cannot do so now by attacking me or my policy. What that policy is will become apparent within a few minutes.

Now, Sir, what is that the honourable mover of this amendment objects to ? It is the communal policy of the Minister for Education. It is the policy of communal representation. He has not attempted to define that policy. He has not pointed out what that policy consists of. Now, Sir, the term or expression communal policy or communal representation is more or less vague. In its bad sense, communal policy or communal representation in services means favouritism, and nepotism guided by religious fanaticism. If, Sir, that is the definition in the mind of the honourable mover that in the administration of any department this sort of policy has been adopted, then, Sir, I repudiate that suggestion as absolutely untrue and unfounded. If, on the other hand, communal repesentation or communal policy means that when you are judging as to the merits of a man, as to his academic distinction, as to his experience, as to his family and as to the services he has rendered to the benign Government, then I think it is permissible also to consider what creed he belongs to. If that is the definition of communal policy, if that is the definition of communal representation, then, Sir, the next question is, is it right to give me the distinction of being the author of this policy ? Whether, Sir, I approve of this policy or not, whether I have followed it or not, one thing I can say for certain and that is this that I am *not* the author of this policy. As a matter of fact this policy has been in existence in India throughout, and in the Punjab as well, therefore, Sir, to say that I am the author of this communal policy which has brought about the disunion of Hindus

and Muhammadans is, I consider, an aspersion upon me personally for which my critics have no justification whatsoever. If there is anyone man who can claim to have brought about Hindu Muslim unity, I claim, Sir, that I am that man. I must further point out, Sir, that never throughout his long and meritorous record of service as a bureaucrat has the honourable mover of the amendment done anything which could earn for him......

Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath : Sir, is my career as Deputy Commissioner the subject of inquiry or criticism ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Main Fazl-i-Husain (continued) : The honourable mover of the amendment need fear no harshness from me. If there is one thing which I have learnt as an advocate it is moderation of language. If there is one thing which I have always been inclined to overlook, it is the show of anger of my opponents. I can afford to smile at all that show of anger which a weak opponent with a bad case may exhibit.

I should like to refer to the services of the Raja Sahib.

Mr.President : I think it is desirable not to refer to the past history of the mover of the amendment. That will not really help the debate. And after all you cannot defend yourself by accusing another.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-Husain (continued) : My training during the past 21 years has been to bow to the ruling of the Bench. I shall now obey the ruling of the Chair.

The main argument of the honourable mover has been that the Minister for Education is responsible not only for the breach of relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans in this province, but in the whole of India. In dealing with this point I have to say a few plain facts. First of all what is this disunion due to ? It is recog-

nised that this disunion was in existence before the year 1916. What then was this disunion due to ? Who brought it about ? To any impartial critic of the sad history of this country it would be apparent that the first cause of disunion is that we have been imparting into our social life the religious antipathy which is innate in our nature and against which our political workers of modern days have been fighting. That is the corner stone of the rigid building of disunion that exists between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Whether that building is to be further erected pile upon pile or whether it is to be brought down rests largely with us and to a certain extent with other communities.

No only is the spirit of religious intolerance in the shape of *chhut chhat* exhibited by the Hindus against the Muhammadans, but it appears within the fold of Hinduism itself. There is intolerance shown by the Brahmans against non-Brahmans. Am I responsible, Sir, for the differences existing in Madras ? Am I responsible, Sir, for the decision of the Madras Ministers who have laid down the law that no Brahman should tyrannise over the non-Brahman and no Brahman shall be employed during their Ministry, and that even in the matter of promotion they shall not be given any promotion as long as the non-Brahmans are not given their rightful share in the administration ? Is that my doing, Sir ? Not only is it not my doing, but it is the doing of the community to which the honourable mover belongs. Let me assure the Council. Sir that I am not responsible for all this.

Instead of entering here upon a long discourse dealing with the diagnosis of the disease and its cure, I will read to the Council some portions of a speech dealing with this subject. This speech was made in 1917. The entire Punjab Press, both Hindu and Muhammadan said about the speaker 'there is a wise man who has placed his finger on the weak point. He has brought out the causes which

must be removed. In 1917 the entire Punjab Press endorsed this speech :-

"It is a fact that before last December the accepted theory was of the inevitable antipathy between Hindus and Mussalmans, and though the thoughtful members of both the communities deplored this estrangement between their respective communities, and invariably referred to the good old days when Hindus and Mussalmans treated each other like brothers, still nothing succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation. What had led to the estrangement ? So far as one can find, it was the distribution of the loaves and fishes of official patronage that created heart-burnings, and these were accentuated when the system of election came into vogue.

"Backward in education, and consequently not well fitted to maintain his own in the struggle of life, the Mussalman felt that his Hindu countryman was doing him out of all the good things of the world. Once the notion came into being, it was easy enough for it to develop and extend its scope. The Hindu, in the first flush of success, found every place suited to his talent, and if a Mussalman got some crumbs, possibly he was a bit intolerant. The thing became so ridiculous that if the benign Government, in their wisdom granted a scholarship worth, say, Rs. 5 a year to a Mussalman, the Hindu was sure to raise a hue and cry against the money not having gone after an open competition to the one who got higher marks.

"Both the communities realised that their differences and disputes, their bickering and their squabbles stood in the way of their acquiring rights and advantages. Hindus realised that though they were the preponderating element, financially and intellectually, yet the Mussalmans, on account of their past traditions, their distinct individuality, and their force of character and their large number were not likely to merge into them or be absorbed by

them, and if they remained backward and weak, they would continue to be a source of great weakness to them in their progress. The Mussalmans realised, thanks to the wise policy of the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, may his soul rest in peace, that if they were to occupy a respectable place in their country, they should go in whole-heartedly for education. In course of time the number of the educated mussalmans increased, and ten years or more ago the thoughtful among them felt the need of bringing about a *rapprochement* between the two great communities. Though the idea was shared by many, yet the Minto-Morley Reforms tended to widen the gulf. The Mussalmans had no political ideal before them. They had a vague notion that they depended on the favour of the Government and not on their own merits. It was but natural that educated Mussalmans should revolt against such debasing notions, and strive to save national self-respect by eschewing flattery..........."

Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath: May I know, Sir, where the quotation is from ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain (continued): This is from the Presidential address of the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain at the Fifth Punjab Provincial Conference held at Lahore in October 1917. I am citing the authority of myself who at the time not only had the confidence of the Muslim community but of the whole community of the honourable mover of this amendment. Then, Sir, to proceed —

"This led to the formation of political associations, and the repeated disappointments in the search after favoritism led them once more to take stock of the situation. It was one of the objects and aims of the All-India Muslim League to co-operate with their Hindu brethren in achieving what was for the good of both. They soon discovered that no time should be lost in bringing about reconciliation, and a clear understanding to avoid the

unworthy squabbles which were a disgrace to both. Where there is a will there is a way. It was felt that they rose or fell together. If useful national work was to be accomplished, they should work hand in hand. Mussalmans were distinctly in a minority in a number of provinces, and where they were in majority they were not particularly strong from an educational or financial point of view. Leaders of both communities thought over the situation, and eventually the Congress adopted the communal representation principle and laid down a proportion for each province and for the Imperial Council as well. But for the spirit of nationalism which had been pervading our country, it is more than doubtful whether this satisfactory arrangement could have been arrived at, and having been arrived at, should have received ready acceptance from Hindus and Muhammadans alike..........."

"Thus it would appear that it is no make believe peace that is patched up between the two great communities. It is the well-considered peace mutually beneficial to both sides and equally honourable, let me add, to both sides, made in their own interests no less than in the interests of their motherland. This Hindu-Muslim compromise has taken many a man by surprise. Many a sceptic urge that their personal experiences remind them of many a horrid squabble, many a petty strife, only a few months ago, and they cannot believe that a sudden change can take place unless it is through a miracle. The official is, I think, not convinced of the genuineness of the Lucknow compact. But remember, officials are the busy men engrossed in their routine world, and their imagination is crippled by their administrative pre-occupation, and they do not take stock of the world forces that envelope countries and bring to fruition principles, ideas and ideals, which ordinarily would have taken ages to develop. This is how the Lucknow convention came about, and so far as the Punjab is concerned, it is eminently satisfactory to both sides. Mussalmans no doubt constitute 55 per cent. of the popu-

lation in this Province, but in view of the all-India distribution and the fact that even during the supposed period of favoritism they seldom succeeded in securing representation to the extent of 50 per cent., it seems to me that the arrangement gains in grace what little it may be supposed to have loss in mere numerical accuracy. Hindus, on the other hand, in enjoyment of more than their numerical share and even much more than 50 per cent., have shown an equally noble spirit in surrendering what they have already been enjoying. Both Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab have gladly accepted the arrangement, and it appears to me that the Government should welcome such a satisfactory compromise of the difficulties which used to tax their resourcefulness so much.

Sir, this speech, I may mention was interspersed with loud applause all along. I think I have taken two minutes to read it, perhaps 2 minutes, but I assure you, Sir, that this passage took me five minutes to read there, half the time having been taken by the applause from some of the members sitting on the opposite benches. Well, Sir, I must say to the credit of the honourable mover of the amendment that he was even then against it. He raised his feeble voice, but no one would listen to it. The atmosphere was so surcharged with national electricity that he got no support. Now he has got a better atmosphere. Now he has certainly succeeded in raising an outcry, but let us hope that it is only for a time.

Now, Sir, I claim that the cure, I suggested in 1916 to my Punjabi brethren was : "Do not squabble, do not be petty, do not appeal to each other's charity. Come to a business like understanding between yourselves and abide by it and then your differences will not stand in the way of your political advancement." Sir, the honourable mover of the amendment has come forward to say that I am the person who has brought about disunion between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. So far as the personal

aspect of the question is concerned, it will be readily recognised by the Council, Sir, that if any one attacks my honour it is only right that I should defend that honour which is so dearer to every one of us than anything else. Whether this communal representation is in my view right or wrong is a different matter. The question is whether it is at present necessary or not ? Now, Sir, it is essential for me to say what my policy is. Now, Sir, my view is this. Religion in Asia, and I believe throughout the world, is an integral part of the individuality of a person and it is impossible to entirely ignore it. Therefore to say "take no account of it" is easier said than done. Those who are loudest in these protestations usually attach more importance to religion than those who say that religion is to be counted. That was the view I expressed in 1916 and that is my view now. I have adhered to it all along. But to say that because of the religion of one man, you should do injustice to another man, or that you should do an injustice to the administration of the country by lowering the efficiency for the sake of the religion of a man I think it is nothing short of treachery to the office that one holds. Therefore, Sir, I claim that in matters of administration if you are really lowering the efficiency of a department by taking in men of different creeds, I stand against it. I do not uphold it. I go so far as to say that if the efficiency of the administration is to suffer, because of the Indianisation of services I will have the courage before the public to stand against it.

So far back as 1914, Sir, a note was prepared by the Director of Public Instruction in response to a representation made to it by the Anjuman-i-Himayat Islam. The note reads thus :

> "No exception can be taken to the principle that an increase of Muhammadan inspecting officers and teachers is desirable with the special object of promoting Muhammadan education in localities where it

> is backward, and this is already fully recognized in filling educational appointments."

Further the note reads :

> "Two Muhammadans resigned and their places were filled by the direct appointment of two Muhammadans from outside the service"

Then, Sir, can it be said that I am the originator of this policy ? I claim, Sir, that during the two years of my term of office I have been perhaps over cautious in filling appointments lest I should unconsciously show favours to my community. The cases that were read out by a member of our Council to-day were placed in his hand by a very capable gentleman interested in Council work, but unable to gain admittance to it.

Then, Sir, in 1914 (in view of what the Hon'ble Member for finance has said on the subject, it is not necessary for me to labour the point) communal representation in the sense in which I have understood it, not the communal representation of favouritism and that sort of thing, was in existence, and in fact it has existed from the very beginning of the British rule. Therefore it is entirely unjust on the part of my critics to say that I have introduced communal policy or communal representation in the services.

Now let me, Sir, with your permission take at once the cases to which the honourable mover of the amendment referred. He said that so far as new appointments are concerned, communal representation is all right, but so far as the rights of persons already in service are concerned, you have no right whatsoever to overlook their claims. That is not the view, Sir, that the Government adopted either in pre-reform days or post-reform days. That is not the view which the Honourable Ministers of Madras have adopted; but that is the view on which I have been acting. If the

suspicions of the Honourable mover of the amendment are based on the incident of "the grave injustice perpetrated on a Hindu doctor," then I must say that he is suffering from some sort of hallucination. The Raja Sahib said in very feeling terms: Here is a man Shiv Lal. Because he is Shiv Lal he is turned out and Muhammad Bashir is put in, in his place. His officer says that he is the very best man. Just imagine the "*zoolam*" of the Minister. Here is a man earning his livelihood, one who is considered to be quite fit for that place, and yet that poor man has to make room for a rotten Muhammadan because the Muhammadan Minister wants it to be so. Well, Sir, I have had the case looked up. I should point out that the cases of Assistant Surgeons and in particular of temporary Assistant Surgeons are within the jurisdiction of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. I could not have believed that any administrator, whether an Inspector-General or a Muhammadan Minister, or even the Honourable mover of the amendment could have perpetrated such wrong. The facts are these. Shiv Lal was one of those Assistant Surgeons who were temporarily engaged during the absence on military service of other incumbents. As these men returned from military service those who were temporarily employed had to go. When Dr.Shiv Lal's turn came he had to go. In his place no Muhammad Bashir was put in. It will afford the Honourable mover great satisfaction, Sir, to know that it was Lala Kanhaya Lal who took Shiv Lal's place, and that Lala Kanhaya Lal was the man who had worked in the Malaria Department already before proceeding to the war. Does the Honourable mover of the amendment think that it would have been honest on the part of Government not to put back the man who had gone to the war to defend the Empire on the understanding that on return he would be well treated? I am sure his objection was solely on the ground of Muhammad Bashir. Now the question arises. How does Muhammad Bashir get into this matter. Muhammad Bashir was a man senior to Shiv Lal. This list shows that he was senior by five or six places to Lala Shiv

Lal, and he was given another place in that department along with Lala Kanhaya Lal. I am sure, therefore, that the Honourable member would be glad that Muhammad Bashir was the third man there, because I know what he wants is concerted action, and there can be no concerted action unless members of different communities are there. This is the story of that case of "clear and grave injustice" that was alleged to have been perpetrated against the Hindu employee in the Medical Department. I was really astonished to hear that statement, and although these appointments are made by the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, I sent for the papers. The officer who granted that certificate which the Honourable mover read to the House accounts for his mistake by saying that he did not know that there were three men, and he was suffering at the time from a great disappointment in having to part with a man he had trained and liked. That, Sir, the sole instance cited by the Honourable mover of the amendment, and these are the facts about it that I have disclosed. Before I leave, Sir, that question of services, I must mention that as a matter of fact not a single appointment has been made in the way which the Honourable mover imagined.

The next point taken by him was the case of admissions to the Government and Medical Colleges; and he said I am responsible for that policy. So far as the Medical College is concerned, up to the year 1916 no question of selection arose as all the students who offered themselves for admission were admitted. But in 1917, there was not room enough, and for the first time, the question of selection arose. It was in this year 1917 that an Honourable member of the Legislative Council of the Punjab tabled a question on the subject urging why Muhammadans were not admitted in the Medical College in sufficiently large numbers. Now, Sir, does it strike the Honourable mover who that wicked member of the Council was who raised the question. I may tell the Honourable mover that the member, Sir, was Mian Fazl-i-Husain. This was in the year

1917 when admittedly he had the entire confidence of the Hindu community, and for the matter of that and of all communities. In fact Sir, on the question of helping the backward communities, all political workers have laid very great stress, not only in the interests of the backward communities, but in the interests of the great cause of the development of a nation. There can be no progress, there can be no political advancement, there can be no concerted action, unless all the different communities take equal part in it.

Now, Sir, I come to 1918, when for the same reason, three gentlemen, all in those days working in the National Congress Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Syed Mohsin Shah, who along with my colleague (points to the Honourable Lala Harkishan Lal) was one of the persons tried in 1919, Malik Barkat Ali, and Mirza Yakub Beg, made a representation to the Inspector-General of Hospitals to the effect that the number of Muhammadans admitted in the Medical college should be greater. In 1919, a deputation waited upon His Honour the lieutenant-Gevernor of the Punjab and was told that there were some sort of percentages already fixed, and that the case of Mussalmans will be favourably considered. In 1921, when I assumed office, a letter came from a Hindu gentleman, claiming that because he was a *Gaur* Brahmin and agriculturist, special consideration should be shown to secure the admission of his son into the Medical College. We dealt with that case. Now, Sir, is it right for any man to say that here is this Muhammadan Minister, bringing in communal representation and ruining the goodwill which existed between the two communities. Therefore, I claim, Sir, that in the matter of admissions to the Medical College, this communal representation was in existence before I came into office. This was approved of by all political workers, all recognised it as a necessity in the political life of the country. That was the position of the Honourable mover himself. He recognised that it is in existence in other provinces; and I do not think how he has

had the hardihood to say that it should not be extended to this province. I think it would be wrong on the part of Government to allow anyone community the monopoly of any particular department of Government, and any Government, Swadeshi or otherwise, is bound to get into trouble any day by giving the monopoly of any particular department to any one community.

Now, Sir, passing on rapidly to the Government college. There again the mover said I have introduced communal representation and broken the peace and harmony subsisting between the two communities. Sir, at the time when the Honourable mover of this amendment and the Honourable Minister for Education were members of that institution, learning the lesson of concerted action, there were no such proportions; and yet this is the good feeling which has been exhibited by him. In 1914, Sir, the Mussalmans of Lahore, as a matter of fact of the Punjab, and their 20 institutions or more made a representation to the Government with reference to admissions to the Government College and many other institutions; and it was since then that this matter was being agitated. One may say, why introduce communal considerations in admissions to Government Colleges ? Sir, I ask why introduce racial question in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford saying that seats be reserved for Indians. I ask why, when you are admitting a man in the Government College, why insist upon that horrid thing that is called "sifarash". That was one of the recognised things. In admitting students the following points besides their marks were considered, — Whether the student had a relative in the College now or in the past, whether his father is or had been in Government service; whether he had rendered any service to Government. If the student had a relative in Government College, or if his father was in Government service or had rendered service to Government, and if he was successful in procuring a "sifarash", he was admitted. Well, the Muhammadans were not admitted in sufficiently

large numbers. Why? Because more likely than not his father was not in Government service, Musalman representation in public services being poor. More likely than not his father and grandfather had never been to College because the community is backward educationally, and he could not get "sifarash" because the Muhammadans of the Punjab did not occupy positions of influence in Public Services. Under these circumstances, the Mussalmans felt that they were being deprived of their chances of being educated in an up-to-date Government College. It was not right that the doors of the Government College should be shut against them. And after all what has been the result of this communal representation in the College? The last Muhammadan admitted had obtained 300 marks, whilst the last Hindu had obtained 303 marks, a difference of only three marks.

Passing on, Sir, from the Government and Medical Colleges and the question of Services, I now come to his fourth point—representation in municipal committees. Now, Sir, if there is one thing more than another, for which I claim to have evolved one universal principal for the benefit of all communities, it is the principle with reference to the constitution of municipal bodies. Instead of using my discretion, instead of saying that each case will be dealt with on its own merits which very often means autocracy, I have laid down tht in the case of those municipalities wherein communal representation has already been in existence, representation shall be with reference to the population and the voting strength combined of each community. If Muhammadans stand to gain in Jhelum, they stand to lose in Rohtak or in Hissar. If Hindus gain in Gurgaon, they lose similarly in Gujrat. Therefore, Sir, to say that a Muhammadan Minister is introducing this communal representation to help Muslims, it is untrue, is misrepresentation pure and simple. That is one thing. Now, Sir, this principle I have modified in favour of minori-

ties, be they Muslim minorities, Christian minorities, Sikh minorities or Hindu minorities. I do not think anyone has suggested a better principle. As regards those places wherein communal representation does not prevail, I have said that communal representation shall not be granted unless there is a keen demand for it, and a case has been made out that without giving communal representation, the adequate representation of that community shall not take place. I do not see how this principle can be improved upon.

Coming to the third case where communal representation does not exist at all, arrangements of circles is so made as to render representation of each community according to their voting strength and population combined, if elections run on communal lines. There is nothing to make elections run on communal lines, but if they do, there is no reason why by a clever manipulation of ward system or circle system one community should get a pull over the other. The reason why I did so, was that I discovered that in many places the distribution was so unfair, so unjust, that it had to be modified with reference to the general principle enunciated by me. This was, Sir, the cleverness of the Revenue Officers to whom my friend referred in terms of eulogy because they were working under a bureaucracy.

Passing on from the municipalities, I come to the next point—Legislation. Now, Sir, the Panchayats are no longer the subject matter of a Bill. The Panchayats Law is now an Act passed by this Council, and if I am to be censured for that, Sir, then it is a censure for this Council, and not on me. If for the same reasons, Sir, I am to be condemned because this Council passed the Gurdwara Bill into law, then, Sir I say "Condemn the Council and not me."

Sir, if there is one thing which will show the very great and useful work done in the interests of local self-govern-

ment that will be shown by the Panchayat Act. It is an enactment, Sir, which I claim is superior to any other dealing with the subject and passed by any other legislature in India. The honourable mover of the amendment says that it gives wide powers to panchayats. Perfectly true. He says that it does not hedge in those powers with all sorts of devices. Perfactly true. I take pride in it. If an Indian believes in the possibility of developing real self-government then he cannot give the experiment a fair trial without running some risks. If I were as pessimistic, Sir, as the honourable mover of the amendment, I would never have dared to bring forward the Panchayat Bill. It is a measure which all sections of political workers in India are agreed should have a fair trial.

Passing on, Sir, from here to the attempt on the part of the honourable mover of the amendment to snatch what is called 'Sikh votes,' let the Sikhs judge me for themselves. What is Raja Sahib's position? It is that the Sikhs are not a separate community at all, and that they are part and parcel of the Hindus.

Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath: They come from the Hindus. I said they were closely allied to the Hindus.

The Honourable Khan Bahadar Mian Fazl-i-Husain: (contd.) So we all come from Adam if we go back sufficiently. Sir, I wish that this claim of the Raja Sahib were correct, and if it is admitted by the Sikhs, then the political situation, I mean the constitutional position of the province, improves tremendously. If our Sikh brethren are really Hindus and part and parcel of them then there will be no inconvenient minorities to deal with. Muslims will be in a majority of 54 to 46. But, Sir, that is not the position. The leaders of Sikhism have claimed an individuality of their own. They say that they have severed their connection with Hinduism, and that they want to stand by themselves. Therefore we cannot but recognise their rights as

an important minority in the Punjab. (Hear, hear). Therefore, Sir, irrespective of all manoeuvres the point before the Sikhs is one of principle, "are they part and parcel of the Hindu community or do they stand apart."? If they are part and parcel of the Hindus, then I have nothing to say. But if they are not, then all the machinations of the honourable mover of the amendment are futile.

I shall next turn to agricultural classes. Their grievances are the grievances of the backward communities of the province. It is for them to decide whether they want to merge their interests into the interests of the forward Hindu brethren or whether they want to stand by themselves and claim special treatment. It was this that led to the 1919 resolution of the Government extending special privileges to zamindars whether they were Sikhs, Muhammadans or Hindus. Having in this matter divided the people into various component parts and shown to them that the principle I stand by is the principle of helping the backward community irrespective of their religion, be they Hindu, Muhammadan or Sikh, is it right to call it as communal partiality? It is a policy which I stand by, and I think that is the policy which is necessary for the Punjab in its present stage of political development. I believe, Sir, I have in that the support of all classes of people.

I own, Sir, that I am not devoid of idealism. But before I go to the subject of idealism, I must answer the questions put by my friend Mr. Ganga Ram. I am sorry I had forgotten about them. He mentioned the case of one Sayed Mohsin Mirza, a perfectly useless man being put over the head of Shiv Dayal, Mukund Lal and Gulbahar Singh because he was a Muhammadan. Now, Sir, Lala Shiv Dayal is an economist, who for his special qualifications has been taken from the Central Training College to the Government College to take the place of Mr. Manmohan, who is officiating in the Indian Educational Service as Principal of Ludhiana College. Lala Mukund Lal is a Mathemati-

cian acting in the Government College as Professor of Mathematics, and Gulbahar Singh is a Sanskrit scholar acting as a Professor of Sanskrit in the Government College. The post to be filled by the Director of Public Instruction was that of a Professor of Psychology and Method due to the transfer of Mr. Chatterjee from the Central Training College to the Government College as a member of the Indian Educational Service. The honourable member suggests that instead of putting Sayed Mohsin Mirza to teach Psychology I should have put in Shiv Dayal, the economist, or Mukund Lal, the Mathematician, or Gulbahar Singh, the Sanskrit scholar, to teach Psychology to the teachers of his sons and grandsons.

Another case cited by him is that of a gentleman who was a Professor in the Forman Christian College and a Professor of the Islamia College. He was of the Provincial Educational Service before he went to a denominational institution. I am told that it is wrong to re-employ him in the Provincial Educational Service. I contend that it is not. Then I am told that I re-employed M. Sher Muhammad because he was a Muhammadan. I say Sir, it is a base insinuation. It is a base insinuation to say that I re-employed him because he was a Muhammadan, and that I would not have done so if he had been a Hindu. It is a base suggestion not worthy of a member of this Council. Well, Sir, if I am wrong in re-employing him then I say it is this gentleman (pointing to the Honourable Lala Harkishan Lal) who is responsible for it. At heart he is probably a Muhammadan, and is masquerading as a Hindu, because the other Minister must be a Hindu. Exonerate me, Sir, from all blame for the doings of this gentleman.

Now, I shall revert to the subject of idealism. I were simply to state in a few words what my feelings have been on this matter, I would say that I look forward to an India wherein there are no distinctions of Hindus or Mussalmans, of Christians or Jews, where there are no distinc-

tions of untouchables, where the religion is the religion of humanity and the creed is the creed of human brotherhood. (Hear, hear). It is a creed, Sir, which I want all members of this House, be they Hindus or Muhammadans or Christians, to try t learn for the good of humanity and for the good relationship between themselves. Not only that, I look forward to a day when there will be not only the obliteration of these religious distinctions, but also the obliteration of services. I look forward to a day when men will be employed because they are worthy of the posts; be they Europeans or Indians. I look forward to a day when narrow nationalism will give way to internationalism. When that day will come, it is not for me to say how long obstructions will be placed in the way of this idea it is for honourable mover of the amendment to say? (Loud cheers).

The amendment "that the grant be reduced by Re.1 with respect to the item Rs. 60,000 salary of education minister" was put to the vote and lost Ayes 28, noes 50.

RESOLUTION RE-ABOLITION OF COMMUNAL ELECTORATES AND CREATION OF JOINT ELECTORATES PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS 26th OCTOBER 1923.

Mr. President: The resolution moved runs—

"That this Council recommends to the Government—

(i) to recommended that the Punjab Electoral Rules be so amended as to abolish the communal electorates and create a join electorate without disturbing the communal proportion of seats; and

(ii) to abolish the communal electorates in the various local bodies in the province without affecting the number of seats allotted to different communities."

The question is that this resolution be adopted.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain (Minister for Education) (Urdu): Sir, as a rule whenever any matter of this sort has been coming up before the Council, I have been taking part in the debate towards the end. I decided to-day to speak at an early stage of the debate in the hope that the debate be confined to the relevant points arising from the Resolution. Sir, it is not quite easy to comprehend the meaning of this motion. Let us first of all know what it means? The honourable mover desires that the Electoral Rules in force regarding this Council be abolished and that there should be joint electorates, keeping the number of members of each community intact. According to the existing Punjab Electoral Rules the Province is divided into (1) Rural Electorates and (2) Urban Electorates. The rural and urban electorates are again divided into (1) Muhammadan and (2) Non-Muhammadan electorates. Now what does the honourable mover wish? Does he mean that the Muhammadans and Hindus be put together in one electorate or that the urban and rural constituencies be done away with and in their place one electorate should be created for the whole of the Punjab so that a certain number of members from each community for the Council be fixed and the whole of the Punjab should elect them? The motion is vague and apparently impracticable. Throughout the speech of the honourable mover I was waiting to hear how he proposed to carry out in practice his ideas, but I waited in vain.

As to the point that if joint electorates are created there will be no harm done what will be the result? Ever since the introduction of the system of election, as a rule, wherever one community has its majority in the electorate

it elects one of its own members and seldom allows any person belonging to the other community to be returned. This applies, not to one community only, but to all. The community which has got its majority in an electorate, as a rule, does not care for the interests of the minority and the minority is helpless. The Council ought to, I think, reflect the views and opinions held by the people; but if joint electorates are created, the Council will reflect the views not of all but only of the majority. At the present stage of our political development, it is much to be regretted that thinking is done communally and not nationally. Where one community thinks that the representation on communal lines will be advantageous to it, it demands communal representation, but where it believes that it will benefit by joint electorates it urges in favour of them. All that is kept in view is the self interest of one community or another. The most desirable thing from a national point of view is that instead of the communal selfishness the common interest of the whole of the country be the concern of all and all nationalists be so sincere, so honest, both in theory and in practice, that the minorities may have no misgivings in entrusting themselves to the care of the majorities; that instead of promoting the interests of one community alone, the interests of all the communities be borne in mind. Had this been done in the past the question of separate communal electorates would never have arisen.

When we see that in the past, elections have, as a rule, been conducted on communal lines, can it be said that at the present time joint elections, stand any chance of being run on lines other than communal? Joint electorates can be successful only when communal prejudices, animosities and selfishness cease to exist. We want to attain national unity, there are several communities here and they are not pulling on as well as they ought to. How can national unity be then attained? Only two things are possible; either crush the weak out of existence. History tells us that this policy has been tried in the past, but has seldom succeeded.

Moreover, it is inhuman and as things stand can well be said to be outside practical politics.

The alternative course is that the weak should be lifted up and their condition ameliorated. This is the rule which the civilized people have advocated. Will the honourable member's resolution help the minorities? Will it enable the minorities to develop on lines other than those of absolute subservience to the majority. The joint electorate will result only in this that the community which has its majority will be all in all and no member who dare differ from its political creed will be returned to this Council. I may invite the attention of the House to the District Boards where there is no separate communal representation and no separate electorates. There too the fact is that the electors vote for that candidate only who belongs to their own community and it is seldom that a candidate belonging to a different community is elected. As regards the municipalities almost half of them are such where there is no communal representation while in the other half there is such a representation. Now in those municipalities where there is no communal representation the election in fact is communal, for the electors as a rule give their votes to the candidate who is of their own community. The Hindu votes for a Hindu candidate and a Muhammadan votes for a Muhammadan. The electioneering campaign in municipalities with joint electorates is run on communal lines and now as in the past, results in the return of candidates belonging to the community which has the majority of electors. Sialkot, Gujrat, Rawalpindi and Jhelum, Hissar and Panipat are not cities which can be overlooked, and many honourable members here are aware of the happenings in Panipat and in Gujrat.

Communal considerations and selfishness prevail in different degrees everywhere and it is this communal mentality that guides the voter whether the system of election is one of separate or joint electorates. Wherever this

evil of communal jealousy has spread it has taken such a hold of the people that elections are as a matter of course influenced thereby. No part of the country seems to be safe from it.

Up to 1922 the Hindu-Muslim unity was strongest in Amritsar and was believed to have developed to such an extent that the whole of India was proud of it. Since 1922 that unity has gone, and has left in its place communal dissensions, animosity and hatred. Why? separate communal representation had been in existence for the last 35 years or more. In spite of it Hindu-Muslim unity in Amritsar was exceedingly strong. During the last two years every vestige of it has disappeared. This shows that the disease is *not* due to separate communal electorates, but to something else.

What the honourable mover has stated about the municipalities is some what exaggerated. Unless there is a change in the mentality of the country, our religious, social and political life cannot free itself from its present defects. To say that if these electoral rules are abolished and joint electorates created, the voters will give their votes to the right man and will look to the merits and ability of the candidate rather than to the religion or community he belongs to, is absolutely wrong. The fact is that the country unfortunately thinks communally, and the selfishness of each community, it is much to be regretted, increases with the increase of its knowledge of things and affairs. Those who have studied carefully and in a philosophic mood the actual state of affairs in the country know what the reality is.

The honourable member said that there was no communal representation thirty years back. Perhaps he is not acquainted with the official red books. The communal representation is found in the books of 1848. I do not know why it was there — whether it was to create or to remove communal hatred and animosity or not.

As to what the honourable member related about a certain Hindu gentleman who was boycotted by the Hindus, but got elected through the votes of the Muhammadans. This was of course an exceptional case. I will not raise the question whether that election was conducted on the merits of the candidate or not, but this much is certain that when a gentleman is discarded by his own community in this way, either the whole community is in the wrong or that gentleman is in the wrong. So this case only shows that the gentleman in order to capture Muslim votes or otherwise did something which all the Hindus disliked. What is the lesson to be derived from this. Joint electorates will return those who are slaves of the majority.

It is said that there was no discord before. This is entirely wrong. Separate electorates came into being because there was discord. The discord was there, it was not great at that time because there were not many opportunities for its coming into play. Now it has increased because the opportunities of discord have increased and along with them, the people have come to know the use which can be made of the Council membership and Municipal Commissionership. So much about the first part of this resolution.

As to the second part let us take the case of Lahore and Amritsar. In Lahore the majority of voters is Muhammadan, while in Amritsar the majority is that of the Hindus. Suppose twenty men are to be elected in each of the two places. Then in Lahore the elected members will be we will assume 12 Muhammadans and 8 Hindus, while in Amritsar there will be 12 Hindus and 8 Muhammadans. The Muhammadans' majority in Lahore will elect Muslims and Muslim-Hindus, while Hindu majority in Amritsar will elect Hindus and Muslim-Hindus. What then is the use of this joint electorate? Will it change the point of view of the people? Will the communal considerations and prejudices disappear by it. If the electorates are made joint, I am

afraid it will make no change in the attitude of the voters and it is the voters who really matter. The votes will, it is much to be regretted, continue to be given on communal considerations and those will only be returned who have communal majority. It is said that if electorates are made joint the people will be guided in the use of their votes by the merit and ability of the candidate and not by communal motives and considerations. Are the voters so guided in the fifty odd municipalities in the Punjab where separate electorates do no exist? If these municipalities too are not immune from these communal evils, then what is the use of creating joint electorates elsewhere?

Joint electorate, no doubt, is and ought to be our ideal , but only when the electorates become politically-minded enough to rise above communal considerations, and when that time comes, it will not be necessary to fix the number of seats for each community, when the mentality, the point of view of the people, so changes that the people when voting for a candidate look to his real worth and merit and not to the religion and community he belongs to and when the conditions become so healthy that instead of the interests of one community alone, the interest of all the communities and the common interests of the country are kept at heart. The communities will have confidence in each other and the demand for separate communal electorates will disappear. Tomorrow this Council will come to an end. The campaign for elections will be from the day after tomorrow. Even if the resolution under discussion be now passed it cannot affect the coming elections. It can affect only the elections which will take place in 1927. So it is of no use even if it is passed today.

The resolution "That this council recommends that the Punjab Educational Rules be so amended as to abolish the communal electorates and create a joint electorate without disturbing the communal proportion of seats,"

due to the late hour of the proceedings, was not put to the vote and lapsed.

RESOLUTION RE APPRECIATION OF THE SERVICES OF THE RIGHT HON'BLE E.S. MONTAGU PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS 21st MARCH, 1922

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain (Education Minister): Sir, I beg to move —

"That this Council recommends to the Government to convey to the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu its profound regret at this resignation and its appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him in helping India to achieve self-government and in securing for her an honourable position in the comity of nations."

Sir, these are not the usual empty words which are put together on such occasions to serve the purpose of mere formality, nor are these the trinkets of customary compliment or courtesy which politicians on similar occasions employ. These words, Sir, as a matter of fact give but an inadequate expression to the feelings of admiration and appreciation, to the feelings of gratitude for the services rendered by the outgoing Secretary and to feelings of an alarming apprehension at his resignation. It is the resignation then of an alarming apprehension at his resignation. It is the resignation then which is the root cause of a sudden shock to us and created the feeling of consternation throughout India. This resignation has been very deeply deplored. The Indian press, both English and vernacular, has unanimously and strongly bestowed its encomiums on the outgoing Secretary of State for the valuable services he rendered to India. Then, Sir, one naturally wants to know how is it that the epithets of "the greatest Secretary of State India has ever had", "the best friend of India", "the best representative of India" have

been universally bestowed on him. Has not his exalted office been held before by men who have been known to be men of deep learning and of liberal ideas of great statesmanship? Did not Lord John Morley a man of letters, as a Liberal, and a statesman occupy a position which has not yet been excelled by anyone and was it not from him that the present Secretary of State learned his first lessons on India? How is it then that in spite of not being as great a Liberal, as great a learned scholar as Lord John Morley, Mr. Montagu has evoked these sentiments in the Indian mind which his teacher was not able to command. One has to go to the man rather than to the statesman to find an explanation of this. I believe, Sir, that there are three qualities which made the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu the idol of Indian political thinkers. The first quality was his wonderful understanding of the educated Indian. He, I believe, understood the educated Indian's mentality better than any other English statesman has done. He realised what an educated Indian feels for his country, and what he aspires to. He also comprehended how sensitive an educated Indian is on international inferiority of his countrymen, and some proud and arrogant statesmen without devoting a thought to the matter unfortunately strengthen this impression. With this wonderful understanding of his, he naturally combined great sympathy for Indian aspirations and ideals. These qualities, his wonderful understanding and his great sympathy enabled him to make India's cause his very own, with the result that he put before himself the goal of elevating a dependency to the status of an associate and a partner in the Empire. With this ideal before him he naturally was working in the direction in which all Indian political workers have been working, but, Sir, had he been only a learned man, had he been only a great philosopher he would not have achieved what in the course of time he did achieve. The third quality of his was his great courage. A philosopher like Lord John Morley perhaps would have become sceptical of extending representative institutions to India though he believed in them. It was left, Sir, to Mr.

Montagu to do away with the shibboleth that representative institutions are the monopoly of the West. Courageously, Sir, he overcame all the obstacles that narrow-minded people placed in his way and took the India Act through the Parliament. His courage combined with his understanding and sympathy, combined with his great influence, combined with his tact enabled him to get his measure passed.

Sir, whatever the critics may say against the India Act, whatever room there may be for improvement in it from the Indian point of view, one cannot deny that the measure was certainly a great one and gave a good start to India on the road to realisation of complete self-government at an early date and for that undoubtedly we are heholden to Mr. Montagu. Over and above this, Sir, Mr. Montagu set himself to work in the interest of India for the recognition of India in the comity of nations. In the colonies, he worked hard to secure a respectable position for Indians. It was largely through his untiring efforts that India was admitted as an Original Member in the League of Nations. So, Sir, we find that Mr. Montagu has worked in the interest of Indians not only for improvement within, not only for advancement within but also has secured for her an honourable position in the outside world. There are these and other services which entitle to our appreciation and admiration. But there is one reason why he is entitled to a great measure of this feeling than would ordinarily have been felt by the Indians. The reason for this is, Sir, his gift to see the Asiatic question from the Indian point of view. He practically put himself in the place of Indians and looked upon the Turkish question and the reconstruction of Eastern Europe from an Oriental point of view and this is what India—united India—has been saying in this matter. There is no Islamic view as distinct from Hindu view. The Hindus and Muhammadans stand united in support of Government of India's policy, which policy has also been supported by Mr. Montagu. They know that India

wants to stand by Turkey, not on the ground of Islamic religion only, but rising above sectarian prejudices or religious bias supports it on the ground of its being a public question. Mr. Montagu with his wonderful capacity, while seeing it from the Indian point of view and having once grasped it, with his usual zeal and integrity he pressed it.

Now, Sir, why is there any alarm felt at his resignation. It is in some quarters apprehended that his resignation may be an indication that the present policy is going to be surrendered and that the Reforms Scheme will not have the same careful supervision that it had under Mr. Montagu. I can assure you, Sir, that these apprehensions which find support in some quarters are not the apprehensions that I share. If India still stands in need of some one to feed the Reforms Scheme just as if it were still an infant, the chances of her advancement are very small. I feel that whoever the Secretary of State may be, the Reforms Scheme is no longer an infant which needs spoon feeding either by a step-mother or by a new nurse. It has now become a robust youth that can take care of itself. If the Indians work the Reforms Scheme properly no Secretary of State can stand in the way of making the Reforms Scheme a success. It is for this reason, Sir, that I do not countenance in any way the doubts and the suspicions that are in the minds of some of us and I hope, Sir, that Indians will in future think that the destinies of India lie more in their own hands than in the hands of any Secretary of State that may from time to time fill the office which the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu filled with such distinction.

Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath [Punjab landholders (General)]: Sir, the hon'ble mover has in the concluding portion of his speech already intimated that on the Khilafat question there is no difference between the Hindus and Muhammadans, not only on account of the sympathy which the Hindus entertain towards their fellow subjects in India but also on other grounds, the Khilafat

question is really a question of the defence of the rights of the Asiatic powers and so far as Indian interests are in common with Asiatic powers, the Hindus have also a direct concern. Therefore I support the amendment which has been moved. In fact, if the hon'ble mover had in the first instance given any intimation of what he said in the concluding portion of his speech the amendment might have been obviated and no necessity would have been felt for introducing it. I hope the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Husain will accept the amendment.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain: Sir, as I understand my resolution it certainly covers the point that Mian Shah Nawaz has brought in, that is to say, when Mr. Montagu served the cause of India he could not possibly have in doing so ignored the cause of Indian Mussalmans and therefore the cause of Indian Muhammadans and of Islam comes in, but to my mind he placed before himself the cause of the united India, that is to say of Muhammadans and Hindus which is a stronger point than the cause of Islam as separated from that of India. However, as Raja Sahib has said inasmuch as it is simply a repetition of a part of my resolution, I have no objection to the addition being made.

Mr. President: Does any member wish to speak to the amendment?

No member stood up.

Mr. President: The motion before the Council is—

"That this Council recommends to the Government to convey to the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu its profound regret at his resignation and its appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him in helping India to achieve self-government and in securing for her an honourable position in the comity of nations."

To this an amendment has been moved and which runs as follows:

That the word "and" be omitted after the word "self-government" and

That the words "to the cause of Islam" be added after the words "comity of nations."

The amendment and the motion was carried.

THE PUNJAB VILLAGE PANCHAYAT BILL

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS 31st OCTOBER, 1921.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain: Sir, the Punjab Village Panchayat Bill was referred to a Select Committee in the last session of this Council. The Select Committee have submitted their report. It has been duly circulated amongst the Hon'ble members. It will be noticed, Sir, that in the report all the points which were raised in the discussion on my motion to refer the Bill to the Select Committee have been taken up, considered and decided. There are eight such points. It will be noticed that section 5 of the amended Bill provides for the introduction of panchayats on a basis which is not compulsory. The second point taken up was whether the members of the panchayat were to be elected or otherwise. The amended Bill makes it clear beyond the least shadow of doubt that they are to be elected. The third point taken up in the Council was the power of suspension or dismissal of panches. It was left in the original Bill with the Deputy Commissioner. The Select Committee has changed it and has given the power to the Commissioner. The fourth point is that the sarpanch was to be for three years. The Select Committee has made it clear that he shall only be for one year and that every year the election of the sarpanch by the panches will take place.

The fifth point is as to the engagement of the staff. The previous sanction of the Deputy Commissioner was necessary. In the amended Bill that provision — the previous sanction of the Deputy Commissioner — has been removed, thus reducing any possible interference by the executive in the working of the panchayat. The sixth point was if some panches were interested in a particular case, whether they should sit on the panchayat or not. It was in the Bill provided that the Deputy Commissioner will decide that point. The Select Committee have ruled that the matter should rest in the hands of a person elected by the elected members of the District Board to perform this duty. The seventh point was that in section 20 of the original Bill it was the Deputy Commissioner whose sanction was needed in order to impose taxation and so forth. Under the revised section 34 or amended section 34 that power has been given to the Collector and not the Deputy Commissioner, again reducing the power of the executive. The eighth point was the appellate or revisional authority. It will be seen that this point has been dealt with separately.

Now I come to those points which are additions to the Bill as it was presented in this Council. The first addition is to be found in section 19 of the amended Bill and consists in the power given to panchayats to supervise patwaris so far as they come in contact with the villagers, and section 20 gives certain powers to the panchayats over petty officials in the matter of reporting their conduct to their superior officers. Therefore sections 19 and 20 coupled with section 21 (*b*) give to the panchayats ample powers over chowkidars, patwaris and others and give administrative control to a certain extent over all these petty officials who work in villages and come in contact with the villagers. The next addition is section 29 of the amended Bill which consists in reducing or specifying the period of limitation over certain simple suits which are liable to come within the jurisdiction of the panchayats.

The next one is that inasmuch as these panchayats are not expert judicial bodies, it has been found necessary to make it clear that any one who is convicted by the panchayats for such trivial offences as fall within their jurisdiction does not by that fact become a "criminal" in the ordinary sense of the word and none of the disqualifications which follow a conviction would be attached to him. The man could stand for election, could get employment and the conviction would not in any way be a blot on his character. So you will see that if he has got convicted by a panchayat there is nothing very serious to follow that conviction. The next is the suggestion that has been incorporated in the report of the Select Committee with reference to excise, whether excisable articles should be sold in the villages. The Select Committee wanted that to be incorporated, but we have left it to dealt with separately in the Council.

We considered the matter of the appointment of revisional authority or appellate authority so far as the decisions of the panchayats were concerned. At page 5 of the Select Committee's report it will be noticed that a good deal of inasmuch as the Government of India wanted, the Select Committee to take particular notice of this point and come to a decision. The Committee considered the suggestions and was of opinion that it is inadvisable to do so and with, the limited judicial powers given to selected panchayats, it will be unnecessary to provide for any further supervision. That is the point on which we have many doubts, and in due course we will have to consider it.

With these observations I present the report of the Select Committee.

(At this stage the report was presented)

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain: Sir, I now beg to move that the Punjab Village Panchayat Bill, 1921, as reported by the Select Committee be taken into consideration. In doing so, I just beg to invite your atten-

tion, Sir, to a few observations concerning the principle underlying this Bill. It is obvious, Sir, that so far as the Punjab is concerned, on the authority of scholars like Sir Louis Tupper, we have it that the village community as such existed in all its strength in the Punjab, and that this village community was a unit of political life in the country. It was almost complete in itself and the village community discharged the ordinary functions of administration and of judicial decision as well. Now, unless we revive this village community, which does not exist in the strength which it at one time possessed, I do not see how the rural population in the Punjab can be so organised as to start upon its course of progress and development, and unless this unit of political life, the village community, comes into being how the various reforms which have been the crying need of India and of the Punjab can meet with any success. I claim, Sir, that the Punjab Village Panchayat Bill is not only a measure to make provision for sanitation and a few other things, but it is a measure which is calculated to develop real political life in the country, a healthy political life which in course of time will knit together the rural population of the Province and will raise them up to the political platform where their urban brethren are, in order to share on a fair basis in the political advantages that, as time goes on, are bound to accrue.

Now we all recognise that while the British Government brought many a blessing to India, it has also entailed certain disadvantages, and one of those disadvantages consists in the weakening of village communal life. Perhaps that was inevitable inasmuch as the old state of affairs came into contact with a more advanced civilisation and therefore could not survive. Whatever the reason may have been, it has been the firm conviction of a very large number of people interested in the development of their country, who have worked for the political emancipation of their country that the one thing which is absolutely necessary for sound advancement, and healthy advancement, is

the revival of the panchayat system throughout India. One of the crying needs of the day is to save the rural popul),4<r increasing disease of liti-
gation takes hold of its victim to a greater extent than, the medical authorities consider, cocaine is able to take hold of its victims. Therefore it seems to me obvious that any step taken with the object of getting rid of this disease, of curing the village community of this cancer, is well worth taking.

I think it was a very high authority, no other than our eminent countryman, Mr. Ranade, who said that it is absolutely essential that in village communities we should have not only the ordinary administrative functions but also judicial functions. With your permission, Sir, I will just read a quotation from him. The late Mr. Justice Ranade said: "There can be no doubt that the local Government limited to conservancy and charitabale functions is more or less a misnomer and is doomed to inevitable failure, for it will never secure the same enthusiastic support by the population which would have been enlisted if local bodies had been organised on the English plan of appointing representatives of the local gentry, preservers of peace and guardians of law and associating with them representatives of rate-payers in every local board. It will be found that in no single self-governing country of Europe or America has the power and responsibility of magisterial and police functions been denied to the local bodies." So it will appear, Sir, from this quotation from such a high authority as Mr. Justice Ranade that not only ordinary municipal functions, like conservancy and charitable things, have to be entrusted to these panches but much more than that is to be entrusted to them in order to make them enthusiastic about their work. Therefore, Sir, this principle that has been worked into this Bill, that is to say, giving judicial functions to selected panchayats when they have started upon their ordinary municipal work, has the highest authority in support of it. I hope, Sir, that in course of time

these panches will tend to develop that solidarity in village life which has been lacking in the past. It will save the people living in rural areas from the tyranny of petty officials. It will also go further and save them from the ruinous results of litigation. I claim, Sir, that these objects are such that they justify the experiment which I want to make, and I think that the faith we have in the soundness of the rural population will be justified in course of time. I also claim, Sir, that the political education of the rural people cannot be properly effected in any way better than the one I have proposed, that is to say, by making them responsible for the administration of their municipal and judicial affairs on a small scale. It will be noticed that the functions of these panches are laid down in the chapter beginning with section 14 onwards and they are graduated. There are the compulsory functions and the optional functions. Then there are the functions which can be entrusted to them by way of canal administration, or of looking after their own education, or by way of civil and criminal administration. The sections as to taxation are fair and equitable and at the same time likely to raise such funds as may be necessary to carry out the duties imposed upon them. The responsibility of these panches will be to the rate-payers. That is one point and an important point which I want to emphasis, Sir, inasmuch as there is a great principle underlying it. The power to be given to panches is really power to be given to the rate-payers who can call upon any panch to render account. So really there is decentralization of power in the highest significance of that expression. There is decentralization from the paid official agency to the panches, the elected representatives of the people themselves. Then there is further decentralization inasmuch as each rate-payer is a person who can take any panch to task regarding money matters. That is the principle which underlines section 33 of his bill. With these observations, Sir, I trust that this Council will proceed to take this Bill into consideration.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain: Sir, I consider that the amendment that has been just moved in favour of the exclusion of Chapter IV if accepted by the Council will practically do away with the Panchayat Bill. In order to demonstrate, Sir, that this amendment is in no way justified, I just want to touch upon those points which Chapter IV deals with.

There are two points dealt with in this chapter — the criminal powers and the civil powers. So far as the criminal powers are concerned they are but few and not of a very important nature. As for the civil powers, they are given less importance than the criminal powers which have been given to these panchayats.

The second point is that every panchayat — by coming into existence does not begin to wield these powers. That is an important point. It will be noticed that section 21 makes it clear that it is only in those cases where the Local Government issues a notification on the subject that a panchayat can exercise these powers. So it will be seen that even the small powers that are being given cannot be exercised by any panchayat until the Local government has issued a notification investing a panchayat with these powers.

Then the third point is this. Several speakers this afternoon and on a previous occasion during this session of the Council have practically said that this idea of giving judicial power to the panchayat is the creation of the brain of a revolutionary who wants to revolutionise the government of this country. As a matter of fact I will be able to show that about a quarter of a century, perhaps more than that, ago the idea that panchayats should be established originated and it was asked that those panchayats should have judicial powers conferred on them. This was more than a quarter of a century ago. I mentioned the other day the authority of the late Mr. Justice Ranade — an authority which admittedly stands supreme in matters national. If so,

Sir, may I say that as a matter of fact it is admitted on all hands that in the Punjab the village community is stronger than in any other part of India and therefore it follows that in the Punjab there is greater chance of the panchayat with their judicial powers being a success. Years ago we had a Decentralisation Commission, Sir, and that Commission went into the matter very closely and came to the conclusion that the country was being staffed by a paid agency, which perhaps was not suited for its requirements and that it would be advisable to go into the question of panchayats and invest them with judicial powers. Then we come to the time about ten years ago as mentioned by the hon'ble mover of this amendment. At that time the Lieutenant Governor of this Province wanted panchayats to assume criminal power or to start panchayats with criminal powers, but we have been told that at the time the feeling in the province was against it and therefore the Government for the time being was persuaded to drop it. That was in the year 1912. Eventful ten years have passed since then. Since then we have had two instalments of reforms and surely today it can hardly be said by any one who professes to possess any political ideas whatsoever as to the progress of his country, that criminal powers should not be given to the panchayats. It is, Sir, my misfortune to be at this time under a cross fire. On the one side there are the public press and political leaders who want political progress to take place with great rapidity and are bombarding me saying: 'You have not given sufficient criminal or civil powers to these panchayats. You must give them both criminal powers and civil powers if you really want to do good to your country.' This is the view taken by the Congress and this is the view that is taken by the Liberal League and, as a matter of fact, I do not happen to know a single political institution of any account that has put forward the proposition that they do not want panchayats to possess judicial powers. There is not a single political institution and not a single national leader who has the heart even to say: 'we want to remain as we are, we want the judicial court to go

on, we want the disease of litigation not to be checked.' Under the circumstances, Sir, I am justified in saying that the opposition to this proposal of mine that there should be judicial powers given to these panchayats, coming as it does from some members of this House, makes me think that the opposition in this House does not consist of any liberal section of the political thinkers, but on the other hand, there are hon'ble members who want to obstruct the political development that I want to bring about in this Province.

What is it after all, the worth of the political development of this province if the rural population (which constitutes very nearly 80 per cent of the entire population) is to be left out of it? To my mind the reforms would be useless if they are not to include the development of rural areas in which this Bill when enacted will take effect. Similarly, Sir, the future of our aspirations is practically ruined when we say that 80 per cent of the Punjab is not good enough to have the small powers that are being given to it. Therefore, Sir, with your permission I beg the Council to throw out the amendment which has been moved.

The motion before the Council is "That Chapter IV be omitted."

The motion was lost.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDING
10th NOVEMBER, 1921

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain: Sir, I move —

> "That the Punjab Village Panchayat Bill, 1921, be passed."

We have been at this Bill for number of months. We have given our best consideration to the various amendments that were put forward. I trust, Sir, that the Bill as now amended has been made as perfect as circumstances permitted. I realize that the Bill is not faultless. It is seldom that any legislation emerges from a Legislature which can claim to be perfect. It is almost always open to amendments and alterations. There was one particular point on which I was myself keen, that is, the question of making provision for the repealing of a case in which a decision had been arrived at by the panchayat by a majority of panches and not unanimously. However, the rules of procedure of this Council did not permit of that being done, and I intend taking an early opportunity of making that defect good. One thing, however, is clear, namely, that the judicial provisions of the Bill do not come into operation as soon as a panchayat is created, but only afterwards.

It is not necessary for me, Sir, to make a lengthy speech at this stage. The Bill has been before the Council and I have no doubt it has evoked a great deal of enthusiasm in the members of this Council who fully represent the people for the benefit of whom this Bill is, I trust, going to be passed. With these few words, Sir, I move that the Punjab Village Panchayat Bill, 1921, as amended, be passed.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain (Urdu): Sir, as this final stage of the Bill I would like to say something in reply to the remarks made by my opponents who have so assiduously been opposing this Bill. Firstly, perhaps Raja Narendra Nath who is leading the opposition has overlooked the fact that our Council is quite a different constitutional body from the Legislative Council that preceded it. In those Councils members were returned from District Boards and Municipalities, or they were nominated by Government, so that it could not precisely

be said whether they were the true representatives of the people. Before the Reforms were introduced some provinces had passed some Village Panchayat Acts. Accordingly in 1919-20 a Bill was framed for this purpose in the Punjab also, but our then Lieutenant-Governor did not desire that Bill to be introduced in that Legislative Council, and waited till the New Councils were started so that the members may truly represent the views of their constituents. Thus our Bill differs from the Village Panchayat Acts of other provinces just as the new Council differ from the old ones.

The second thing about which complaint has been made is that rich and well-to-do zamindars have been given great powers while the poor have been neglected. Sir, if I had not done so, or if I had invested the Deputy Commissioners with powers to hear appeals, these people would have opposed me in that case as well.

Again, my opponents still entertain the notion that the present Government is still the same as it was in 1919-20. I thought the ideas and prejudices against the Government entertained by Raja Narendra Nath would undergo material change after he had witnessed the constitution of this Council. I would like to bring home to him again that the present Government, which is concerned with this Bill, is no longer a bureaucratic but a national Government. Hence they are not justified in finding fault with it just they have been doing with the old bureaucracy.

As regards this Bill, I am sometimes accused that I am changing colour like a chameleon. But some of my friends who have been taking such a keen interest in opposing me say at one time that this Bill will be a revolution against the rich and well-to-do zamindars, at another they ask how will the poor fare under it? I think my opponents themselves have no principle to stick to and they themselves are changing colour. I am now convinced that any measure which the Government may take even on the wide princi-

ple of democracy will be eagerly opposed by them. They are advocating now and then the principle of democracy; I am myself ready to do anything with those principles in view and they would ever find me more earnest than themselves in this respect.

Again one of my friends has alleged that in three other provinces where panchayats have been established, the powers with which these panchayats have been invested are quite in harmony with village conditions in those provinces, and that similar measures in the Punjab are not practicable. I am surprised to hear such an argument and from a Punjabi. Even the English writers hold the opinion that the Punjab affords the best village community, while a Punjabi is exhibiting his ignorance about such an important fact.

Another gentleman has expressed his apprehension that the Bill will greatly add to the powers of the Minister for Education, and he is so sanguine as to find another Nadir Shah in me. I would ask my opponents to free themselves from such suspicions. The village rate-payers have the sole right to elect panches. Even if he supposed that it will add to my powers, well, Sir, along with other members I will stand responsible and would have to render all accounts before this House. I hope the Bill be supported by an overwhelming majority, and will prove very useful in this province.

Mr. President: The motion before the Council is—

"That the Punjab Village Panchayat Bill, 1921, as amended be passed."

The Council then divided: Ayes 46, Noes 12.

Section 5

SPEECHES IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE 1930-35

RELIEF OF AGRICULTURISTS

RESOLUTION RE CONTROL OF MONEY LENDING AND RATES OF INTEREST

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1931

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, we have listened to a very important debate this morning on a Resolution in which all parts of the House seem to have taken a very keen interest indeed. The debate has been for more reasons than one very interesting. Firstly because it deals with a subject in which not only all Governments from time to time but also all political parties from time to time have taken very keen interest. It has also been interesting because the part taken therein has been by men of considerable substance, not belonging to the debtor class, from the Nationalist Party Lala Hari Raj Swarup, representing the landholders of the United Provinces, made a very valuable contribution to the debate, a thoughtful speech, well prepared, well conceived and well delivered. He made constructive suggestions for the consideration of the House and presented a very well reasoned case for undertaking some legislation. He at the same time realised that there were considerable difficulties in the way of doing something immediately. He also pointed out that legislation was necessary, but legislation did not invariably succeed in achieving what it set itself to achieve. Then it was also interesting because it was not a one-sided debate. All who spoke did not speak for the debtor only. I was very pleased to hear more than one

Member speaking on behalf of the creditor class, pointing out how very essential in the economy of rural life, of rural construction, the money lender was bound to be. Therefore, Sir, I may say that the debate on this important Resolution has been conducted on a pretty high level, and the House may well congratulate itself on having discussed with enthusiasm and yet with dignity a Resolution which might excite a great deal of feeling on either side.

Now sir, although I have my self been identified with rural interests in my own province, and although in this very hall five years ago, a Money Lenders' Bill, connected with the Regulation of Accounts Bill of the Punjab Legislative Council, was discussed for many days, — and I had to take a fairly prominent part in it, — the experience gained has enabled me to see both sides of this very difficult question. Now, in this Resolution two suggestions have been made, one with reference to controlling the operations of money lenders and the second for controlling the rate of interest. With the first of these two questions I may say I am fairly familiar. That legislative measure (I have referred to) was initiated by a private Member in 1922, I believe, after the English Money Lenders Registration Act. It went on for two or three sessions as we discovered that it was extremely difficult to register all the money lenders in the Punjab. They would not have it; it was not in the best interests of the province. Then it developed into an attempt at creating some sort of assumptions in favour of the debtor, that is to say, the creditor was to prove definitely that the amount mentioned in the bond or in the account book was actually lent. We found considerable difficulty in eventually adopting that suggestion either. After many efforts at finding a suitable provision to help the debtor class and yet not to injure the lending class, we found that all that we could really attempt was to make provision that keeping of accounts was regulated. That does not sound very pretentious — regulating keeping of accounts, but really it is the pivot on which the whole case

for the debtor rests. It has been said that large sums are deducted by way of interest before the money is lent. It has been said that there are signed documents quite blank to be filled at the discretion of the money lender as he likes. Well, Members of the legal profession, who have occasion to see possibly the good side of human nature, certainly the shady side of human nature, know that these allegations are not altogether unfounded. And yet it cannot be said that this opinion is a sufficient justification for the view that there shall be no money lending class. As a matter of fact, it is impossible for the rural people to get on without the help of the money lending class. It may be asked, "Oh, why have a money lending class, why not have co-operative bank that ought to meet all your needs; why not have large banks in different centres of agricultural activity?" Well, Sir, I am afraid neither of these two can be found to be practicable. These serve a very useful purpose but the man in the field waiting for the monsoon to materialise, as soon as rain comes, immediately wants to sow the seed. He wants money to buy the seed, and unless he has the seed or the money within two days, it will be of no use for that particular crop. How is he going to get that? To say that there ought to be a co-operative society in every village is no doubt a great ideal. I wish we could reach it; one could say there ought to be a bank in every large village. That again is an ideal which we cannot expect to reach very soon. And in the Indian villages a *sowcar*, a banker or a money lender combines in his person more often than not more professions than one. Money lending is not his sole business, he is also the provider of the needs of the village community in the matter of general stores; and in some places, he is also a cloth merchant. When he combines so many professions, he is able to make both ends meet and save money. Therefore, this money lending, one might say, is a by-industry, a subsidiary industry along with ordinary shopkeeping. That is why he is able to do it very cheaply. I am afraid in course of time when we have developed secondary education to a great extent the

economical old type of *sowcar* may disappear and his place may be taken by his comfort-loving aspiring-to-live-well grandson, and then you will find not only the zamindar will be poor, the agriculturist will be poor, but the banker-*sowcar* will also be poverty-striken. Therefore, when Members come and urge, here are such and such money lenders; they came into particular villages practically penniless, with perhaps a hundred rupees or so; and now, they have developed their business and their capital runs into lakhs, — well they must remember that those are exceptional cases and cases of men who exercised wonderful self-restraint, who also, though possessed of money, have got habituated to a standard of living much below their capital or their earnings. These are things which are soon to become things of the past and neither of the present nor of the future. Therefore I venture to suggest as regards the suggestion of controlling lending of money that it is a subject which can only be dealt with suitably and adequately in a provincial Legislature. The Report of the Indian Banking Enquiry Committee, to which reference has already been made by more speakers than one has mentioned with flattering observations the measure which was passed by the Punjab Legislative Council, and has suggested that other provinces might as well try and examine to what extent a similar measure will be suitable for them. Therefore, if I may so suggest, perhaps the Honourable the Mover will see that part of his Resolution is undoubtedly going to be examined by that Department of the Government which will deal with the Banking Enquiry Committee's Report and no doubt will do what it can in that direction.

As regards the controlling of interest, I was very much impressed by what was said by the Honourable Member from the Punjab, Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz. I believe his argument as to the rulings of the High Courts was very strong, and yet what was his proposal? It was that a maximum rate of interest should be fixed by legislation, beyond

which no lender can charge more interest and no debtor can agree to pay more.

Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz: That was in the alternative. If you cannot do it, then amend the law.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Well, now, as regards amending the law, he did not say it should apply to a particular class of borrowers, and I do not see how reasonably it can be expected that it should apply to all. Take the case of the man who has not earned his property but has inherited it, and as happens in many cases, having inherited it, he proposes to get rid of it and not having cash he wants to borrow. Well, why should in the case of that man, who is keen upon getting rid of the property that his poor forefathers had collected, and who has made up his mind not to keep it but to get rid of it — he cannot borrow money at the statutory rate. Is there any justification for the State to say that the man of that type who has made up his mind to go to the dogs, should not do so?

Sir Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Why is an attempt to commit suicide an offence?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Committing suicide is an offence because it is an extreme measure, but if my Honourable friend makes up his mind to commit suicide piecemeal, I wonder whether he will find any law standing in his way. Does not my Honourable friend realise that it is not a criminal offence to drink oneself to death? However, not to go into side issues, I think it will be recognised that while in many countries efforts have been made to legislate for a particular rate of interest as the maximum, it has always been done with reference to a particular class of people and not for everybody. I was told that in the case of certain agriculturist classes it has been done in some places. But I again urge

that you cannot legislate for all classes and lay down particular maximum rates. Whether you can or not, to my mind it is a matter which would require very careful consideration as to whether it is possible under the existing law, with such directions as the High Courts may be pleased to give, some relief or other can be obtained by the agricultural class of debtors only.

It has been asked, why has the law been invariably interpreted in a way which might be considered to be prejudicial to the case of the debtor? That is not very difficult to explain. All laws are essentially conservative, and courts of law rather go by precedent than by the various slogans for reform or advance. Keeping in view the juristic principles of old, every court of law says, this particular law is at variance with those principles or is a trespass on those principles, and therefore must be interpreted strictly, and in that strict interpretation the object of the framers of the law is to a certain extent defeated. That I suppose has been the case in all countries and it is not unexpected that it should be so in the case of India as well. Still, that is no justification for our being inactive. We ought really to try and see whether something cannot be done in that direction. My own view has been that in most cases the courts of law have not been able to interfere because of the absence of requisite data on which to come to a conclusion that the transaction is vitiated by the inequality of the parties at the time the contract was actually made. Here is a bond executed, say, a few years ago. That is the last bond, and why should the court go behind it and even if the court tries to go behind it, it will not have the requisite material for it. If regulation of accounts is taken seriously in hand, there will be a continuous series of accounts between the debtor and the creditor and that will, I believe, enable the court to come to a decision whether at any particular step the creditor has over-charged the debtor. Therefore, is it not possible that the regulation of accounts may supply the data which courts of law need in order to reduce the rates

of interest in particular cases? I think, Sir,— the House will permit my saying so — that in view of the impending political changes, the attention of every one of us, whether Members on Government Benches or Members sitting opposite, is naturally attracted towards the welfare of the future rulers of the country, I mean the masses in rural areas. With their enfranchisement, which is bound to happen, their interests will come to the forefront and it is undoubtedly wise on the part of the Honourable Members to take time by the forelock and begin doing some thing before they come in and try to do things perhaps much more rapidly than might be advisable. For that reason alone, there is, I believe, agreement between this side of the House and that side that no step should be left untaken, no suggestion left unexplored in order to arrive at a decision which will help us to bring the case of the rural classes within the possibility either of legislation or otherwise granting relief to them. I trust Honourable Members will realise that is the extent to which the Government can at present go. They are ready, as the Honourable Home Member in his speech made clear, in the matter of regulation of accounts to invite the attention of Local Governments to it. As regards the interest question, already he has taken steps to obtain the requisite data from the High Courts to see to what extent proposals for amendment of the Usurious Loans Act can be examined and if necessary amending measures adopted.

CONDITION OF AGRICULTURISTS
COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS
4th SEPTEMBER 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Education, Health and Lands Membet): Sir, Government has the greatest possible sympathy with the object the Honourable mover of this Resolution has in

view, and the Government has given expression to its views on the subject from time to time. Government has nothing but admiration for the way in which the poorest sections of the agriculturists have been bearing the troubles due to the hard times which have unfortunately lasted for so long. There are, Sir, troubles which one would like to remove at once and there are some which one cannot remove but to which one does one's best to apply as many palliatives as possible and pray that the time of trial will soon be over.

It was, Sir, in September, 1931, that a Resolution almost identical with the present Resolution was moved in the other place and a most interesting debate ensued in which I also took part. The outstanding points of the problem are that there is produce in plenty. Those Honourable Members who think that the yield of the land has become less as compared with what it was 30 years ago are, I am afraid, not well informed. Produce there is in plenty. The produce is more than is needed for consumption within India. In some cases, there is produce available for export. The trouble is that the prices the produce commands are very, very low. Therefore, all those who own land, whether large or small, suffer. Their incomes have dwindled in some cases almost to vanishing point. And almost in all cases to something varying between 25 and 50 per cent of what they were before. These are facts there is no getting over. There is no desire to get over them. Unless we face facts fairly and squarely no effort can be made to overcome them. What can be done to get over this trouble?

There is plenty and yet scarcity. What can be done? The Honourable mover of the Resolution has suggested that my Honourable colleague, the Finance Member, should resort to some sort of jugglery and raise the prices. Sir, I have read in many papers, general papers, ordinary papers and also what we call expert papers, talking of things like that. You inflate the currency; you inflate the

prices, you do something or other. I am a plain man; I am not familiar with this jugglery; but my common sense is very suspicious of the efficacy of such remedies. I think that even if some jugglery of this sort can be performed, it cannot last very long. Moreover, India cannot claim to posses the best financial juggler in the world. The example will be followed by others. If you inflate your currency, presumably others also will play at the same game.

Then it has been said that the prices have gone down and therefore the debt has become enormous, much more than what it was. That is perfectly true. But am I right in thinking that there are many Members on this side as well as on that who would raise their voices strongly if it were seriously proposed by Government that the existing debts are to be reduced by half? I am sure the Honourable Member from the Frontier Province, who is enjoying a well-earned rest, will be the first to protest if it is said that all debts are hereby wiped out. He will ask, "Is this law? Is this British justice?" I will never hear the end of it. Then it has been said that this enormous interest has become intolerable. Perfectly true, but what am I to do? Reduce it by law to 5 per cent? If you think of the consequences that will ensue, the credit that will suffer, you will realise that there is nothing doing in that suggestion. As plain man addressing plain men I assure you that honesty is the best policy. Do your best. If there is any mischief up, try to counteract it. Put forth your best effort physically, *i.e.,* produce more, intellectually, to see that other people do not do you out of what you have earned; otherwise, honesty is the best policy, pursue it and wait for good times to come.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HUSSAIN IMAM: Till the millennium?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I am hearing the word "millennium" ever since I started my public life. I do not believe we are anywhere

nearer to it today, but then that is the experience not only of my humble self but of many other people. We must really try to improve our position every day. Human society is like that. It is our duty to do our best to take the people a step further. It may not be a very big step; it may not be a step which leads at once to the fulfillment of our aspirations, but it will be our determined effort to get on. The present depression is not limited to India itself but is world wide. There is no use thinking that it is possible by any show of activity on our part to get over this quickly; it would be like the insane man who breaks his head against a stone wall. What is needed is a determined effort to get on and to improve the position. At the same time you ought not to lose your head. What has been suggested as the remedy for the troubles we are in? We are really in trouble. My Honourable friends opposite have said, "We give you a plan; you have just to adopt it." And what is the cure? Appoint an all-India committee of the two Houses. One Honourable Member has shown generosity by including official Members in that committee. We are most thankful to him. But I assure you that neither official nor non-official Members on the basis of an all-India committee can contribute to the solution of this problem. Were it possible to achieve the end in that way Government would only have been too pleased to have done it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Have you tried it?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: "Have we tried it?"— that is the question. A perfectly sensible question. Was not, Sir, the small amount of Rs. 14 lakhs spent on the Royal Commission on Agriculture? Perhaps I might have forgotten, but in 1925, when the Royal Commission on Agriculture was conceived I was temporarily in office; in 1926 it came into being. and throughout the Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin that Commission travelled all over India and produced a large number of

volumes of evidence, discussions and deliberations, and I believe one volume of recommendations. The Government of India has since been occupied in giving effect to such of their recommendations as the financial condition of India would permit. One of the recommendations resulted in the materialisation of an all-India organisation, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, of which I have the honour to be President. To the meeting held under the auspices of that body Members of the Central Legislature were invited at Delhi to hear the story the Vice-Chairman of that Council had to relate and also to have the benefit of such suggestions as Honourable Members of this House and of the other House might offer. Therefore, it cannot be said that already in India an effort has not been made to grapple with this problem, because the expenditure of Rs. 14 lakhs and the existence of, I believe, 18 volumes of good size is proof positive that has been done, and done as thoroughly as only the Government of India can be expected to do; and having spent all that money and produced that literature, we proceeded to give effect to it. Here is the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the governing body of which consists of a very large number of men, and I must add, Sir, although I am President of that organisation, that organisation has done some good. And the response for research through its efforts has been really very creditable to the people. Its researches extend over a wide scope of agricultural as well as animal husbandry problems. Honourable Members are no doubt aware that only recently the Government of India held a Sugar Conference. Why? Because with Indian wheat losing foreign markets, prices of wheat going down, cotton threatened — the Government of India felt that it was necessary to see what can be done in the matter of sugar crops. I think the tale revealed at that conference was in every way thoroughly satisfactory. It expected that within a year or so India's output of sugar will be as much as India is consuming today. Therefore, Sir, I have, I hope succeeded in stating to the House that Government is fully

conscious of the trouble from which the agricultural classes are suffering and is doing its best to overcome that trouble. It is keeping in close touch with Provincial governments whose primary concern agriculture and its kindred departments are. As a matter of fact I do not think there is anything confidential about it. Every year we issue a circular letter to Local Governments requesting them to survey the situation every half-year and keep us informed of it, and also to tell us what steps, if any, they have taken to ameliorate the conditions of poor agriculturists. Perhaps Honourable Members would like to know what is being done in different provinces. I trust every representative of his own province keeps himself informed what the Local Government of that province is doing, but perhaps it will help matters if I were to state for the benefit of the House what is being done in different provinces.

It appears that all provinces are fully alive to the situation and have endeavored in each a case to relieve agricultural distress as far as possible by remissions, by suspensions of land revenue, by distribution of loans to the poor and by opening test works where conditions are so bad as to approach famine conditions. In Madras land revenue has been suspended since February last to the extent of about Rs. 31 lakhs. In Bombay a suspension of 2 to 4 annas in the rupee was sanctioned in the rice-growing areas and remissions in some parts of Sind ranging from 12 to 25 per cent were accorded, the total loss of revenue involved in the grant of remissions in Sind was as much as Rs. 9 lakhs. In the United Provinces remissions amounting the more than one-and-a-half crores were sanctioned. In this province, as I have no doubt Honourable Members are aware, several Bills designed to give relief to the agriculturist were introduced, dealing with the relief of agricultural indebtedness, the Reduction of Interest and Usurious Loans Bill. Honourable Members I am sure will feel gratified that the brain waves they have had were shared by their fellow legislators in the provinces as well. I under-

stand these Bills have been referred to Select Committees. In the Punjab remissions of land revenue amounting to Rs. 9 lakhs were granted in five districts where the price of wheat at the end of March, 1933, was found to be below the rate assumed at the last settlement. These remissions were in addition to those made on account of ordinary crop failures. The Punjab Government have also recently appointed a committee to go into the matter of water rates, the dues which the Government realizes for canal water. Other provinces have also not been slow in adopting such measures as were considered necessary for the purpose of granting relief to the agriculturist in various ways.

Now, Sir, in reference to the last crop, the *rabi* crop, I believe I am right in saying that it was rather above than below the average, and the prospects of the next crop are reported to be satisfactory. These are the reports from the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province. In some parts of India, however, some damage has been caused by floods. Prices of agricultural produce have in many places shown a tendency to rise. Broadly speaking, therefore, there has recently been no marked deterioration in agricultural conditions in this country, though it cannot be said that improvement has been marked. The agricultural aspect is, as I have said, being very closely watched by Government. Conditions from province to province vary very widely, so widely that an all-India committee can serve no useful purpose so soon after the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Such all-India examination as may be necessary is being conducted by the Governing Body of the Agricultural Research council, and in order to coordinate the efforts of various provinces the Government of India is in receipt of annual, and in some cases bi-annual, reports on agricultural conditions from the provinces. I am glad that the Honourable Member recognises that the Government of India has not been slow to protect agricultural produce

where it was called upon to do so. I think it was in 1931 that the Wheat Import Duty Bill was passed—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: For the Punjab.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I should have thought that the Honourable Member leading a strong popular party would have thought of India and not of a province. The spirit in which the Wheat Import Duty Bill was passed was the Indian spirit and not the Punjab spirit, and if all provinces wish that every measure should benefit in each case every part of India the result would be that no protective measure could ever be taken by the Government. Again the assistance given by the Tariff Board to sugar is well known. Where Government feel that an industry needs protection, Government is not slow to come to the help of that industry. So far as linseed is concerned, the tariff reduction of this commodity in the United Kingdom markets for foreign linseed has given an impetus to exports from India. Indian exports in April and June, 1933, were 49,000 tons as compared with 19,000 and 43,000 tons during the corresponding period of 1931 and 1932. The price of linseed was Rs. 6-5-0 per cwt. in 1931, Rs. 5-13-0 in 1932 and it has luckily gone up to Rs. 6-12-6 this year. Perhaps Honourable Members would like me to say something now about rice. Price of rice has gone down in the wake of world prices, over which neither Honourable Members nor the Government of India have any control. The price of rice is regulated by world conditions as India exports large quantities of rice to other countries. As regards cotton, Sir, the position is better this year than it was last year. The price in the first week of August this year was Rs. 206 per candy. This although somewhat lower than the price in June and July, 1933, is higher than the price in the first week of August, 1931 which was Rs. 157-8-0 and Rs. 178-8-0 per candy, respectively. Exports have also increased. The

export from 1st September, 1932 to 19th August, 1933 from Bombay amounted to 267,026 tons as compared with 152,492 tons during the preceding corresponding period.

REDUCTION OF LAND TAX
COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS
11th SEPTEMBER, 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, I want in the first place to appeal to the House first to understand the purport of the Resolution and then to address itself seriously to the consideration of the recommendation contained in the Resolution, and, thirdly, to remember that they are the Central Legislature and the Upper Chamber of the Central Legislature and have passed no end of Resolutions in support of provincial autonomy,— that this House has times out of number said that what we want is not imperialism, no centralised government, but what we want is provincial autonomy, liberty to the provinces to act in the way local conditions demand and that the system of government at the centre should be federal and not centralised or unitary. Fourthly, they should remember the Indian proverb that when you want to offer some charity for the benefit of the soul of your grandfather, it is not right that you should go to a sweetmeat-seller's shop and do it at his expense.

ONE HONOURABLE MEMBER, Sir, today spoke of the Madras ryotwari peasant being ground down under the heavy taxation of Rs. 2-5-0 as against the poor man who paid less in other provinces. Does not the Honourable Member know that Madras is probably the most solvent province in India, which means the richest? *(An Honourable Member: "No, no".)*

The Honourable Mr. Y. Ranganayakalu Naidu: Of course it pays a very high rate of taxation. It is not rich in other respects.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Is it really the modesty of the Honourable Member which makes him contradict that the Madras Presidency' financial position is better than that of other provinces, that in education and other matters it is far ahead of the other provinces? And why? Because Madras people are good, sensible, clever people, who, if they collect money, spend it profitably on themselves. What is wanted in India? Development of the country. How can you develop your country if you have not got the means to develop it? In Madras the Administration is far ahead of many other provinces. I remember 20 years or more ago when I met some Madras friends and some friends from Bengal and other provinces. This conference was called with the object of deciding whether the matriculation examination should be conducted in the vernacular or in English. The Madras representative said that they would like to introduce the teaching of English, if not in the 1st primary standard at all event in the 2nd, while we thought that it was high time it was introduced in the middle form. You cannot have all the good things of this world without spending some money for them. Who else has got to find the money? You cannot expect it to come from England. However, that is by the way. The fourth point was that this House should remember that there is such a thing as a Provincial Legislature functioning in each province, that those Provincial Legislatures have a stronger elected element on them than this House possesses and that it cannot be said that the Provincial Legislatures are less representative of the people than this House, nor can it be said that the Provincial Legislatures are less cognisant of the needs of the agriculturist, remembering that the representation of the agriculturists on Local Legislatures is stronger than it is on this House.

Having drawn the attention of the House to these four or five points, Sir, I venture now to ask the House to closely examine the wording of this Resolution. The Resolution amounts to saying this, that in India, excepting such portions as are under a permanent settlement, the incidence of taxation is unduly heavy, although the Resolution does not state whether it is unduly heavy today or it has been unduly heavy all along, whether it is unduly heavy since the fall of prices or whether it was unduly heavy even before the fall of prices. But I understood the Honourable mover's speech to mean that his complaint was due to the fact that prices have during the last four years fallen, and fallen heavily. Am I right?

THE HONOURABLE MR. V.C. VELLINGIRI GOUNDER: Yes.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Then this is his first assertion, his first allegation. I am not prepared to quarrel with him over that allegation, although presently I will be able to show that his statement could not apply to all parts of any province, although it would apply to several parts of each province. Now, take the case of the Punjab. There are districts which were settled before the rise of prices. In the matter of production and in particular in the matter of prices you cannot find fault with those settlements which took place before the rise. There are other districts which were settled during the time of these high prices, and here undoubtedly the tendency was for the settlement to be heavier than would have been the case had there been no high prices prevailing at that time. Therefore, in each province you cannot but categorise those cases with which you cannot find fault and those with which you can find fault. If so, then apparently the general allegation that the assessment is unduly heavy as applied to a whole province cannot be made. If you say, "Oh, well, the assessment is unduly heavy; let us reduce it by so much throughout the

province", you will be doing an injustice. You will be giving remissions to those who are not entitled to them,— to those who were assessed before the prices soared up,— and you will be doing very little for those who really deserve help. I am, Sir, trying to emphasis the difficulty in generalising from particular facts in the sort of House that ours is. If Honourable Members remember what I have told them, if they have in mind what the Honourable mover himself has stated, what the Local Governments do in these hard times, and remembering that these hard times are not peculiar to India only — these are hard times which India shares with the rest of the world, and if you remember *marg-i-amboh jashn darad*. When there is a calamity, a calamity which we share with a very large number of people, that is not altogether a matter for very keen regret because we have not been singled out by Providence for being visited with the calamity; so the natural thing for Local Governments to do is to deal with the case of each district on its merits. What my Honourable friend Mr. Khaparde has said is an idea which has been taken up very seriously by several provinces. A sliding scale has been devised, so far as I know, in the Punjab, for those districts where assessments have taken place during the time of high prices. They treat the price fixed by the Settlement Officer as the price for the purpose of assessment as due, and see whether the present prices have fallen below, and to the extent to which they have fallen below it, Local Governments give relief in that particular area. My Honourable friend, however, I am afraid, has not quite realised that any attempt at uniformity amongst the provinces is impractible. Conditions vary so enormously. I however agree with him that when it is heard that in the United Provinces a remission of four annas or two annas is given, people in the Central Provinces say, "Look, our Government is a rotten one; they are very unsympathetic! Look at the United Provinces Governor; he has given a remission whereas we have got none". They have naturally heard that there has been a remission in the United

Provinces. They have seen the newspapers. But they have not got information in what particular area that remission has been given, what were the peculiar circumstances of those areas and all the attendant circumstances. They know of only one thing, that a remission has been given, and that they have not been given any, and therefore conclude that they have been unjustly treated. That is a very dangerous thing, Sir. when ideas like these are spread amongst the ignorant people, naturally the harm done is incalculable. The reason why I am talking very frankly is my experience as a Minister for five years. So I know perfectly well how those who want to help the beneficent departments of their province feel. They want money and at times they are not very scrupulous as to where that money comes from because they really cannot do much unless money is forthcoming. After that term of five years I had experience as a Revenue Member, when I came in very close contact with the vast agricultural population of the Punjab. The Punjab has the benefit of having excellent Colonies wherein the condition of the agriculturist during the time of high prices was excellent. The standard of comfort rose and they began to think of themselves as quite civilized, later on developing a taste for Ford motor cars and so forth. Then I saw the time when year after year I had, much to my regret, to recommend remissions, suspensions and the rest. But I realised that as long as one treats the people equitably they do not complain. They realize that all that can be done is being done for them and that there are calamities over which the Government has no control and therefore they cannot expect things which are not within the power of any Government to vouchsafe to them. But it must be remembered that unless Legislatures act in a reasonable manner it is extremely difficult for Local Governments to respond to their recommendations either for relief or improvement. I think in the Punjab we were the first to pass the Land Revenue Amendment Act, under which assessments were regulated, increases on past assessments were regulated and the whole method was

brought under statutory sanction instead of the procedure which had been previously followed. The United Provinces followed suit and the Central Provinces also passed similar legislation. I remember very well that Bombay also tried to fall into line. But our friends the Madras people wanted to be too clever. At times they want too much. They think that either they must have the whole loaf or none at all; they will not have half or even three-quarters, with the result that although Madras more than once tried to legislate, it did not come off. But after all none of us here is as competent to pronounce on the rights and wrongs of remission of land revenue of any particular crop as the Madras Legislature itself and the Madras Government. My advice, Sir, to the House is not to condemn any Local Government unheard. I have been a member of a Local Government myself, and I know how keenly Local Governments resent being sat upon either by the Central Government or by the Central Legislature. They have a feeling that they are being judged without being heard in their own defence, and I am sure the sense of justice of this House will prevail and will not allow this House to pass a general Resolution condemning a Local Government for having failed to take suitable action when there was need for that action to be taken. I have here a summary of the various actions taken by various Local Governments. I have mentioned the case of the Punjab which is moving in the direction of a sliding scale. In the United Provinces I understand a committee actually sat and a sliding scale was devised. How many United Provinces landowners would be prepared to subscribe to this Resolution saying that land revenue be reduced by a half or one-third or one-quarter. The rent of the landlords also goes with it. Will they be prepared to agree to that? And is it for this House to say that Local Governments should do this or that, when they know perfectly well that every Local Legislature has discussed this subject in its own province. After all, the Central Legislature has certain rights, and so also have Local Legislatures. And if we have certain privileges we have also to

respect the privileges of others. If we have any regard for the constitution we should honour it by not trespassing upon the privileges to which Provincial Legislatures and Governments are entitled.

One point more, Sir, and that was the point which Mr. Khaparde gave as a reason for his support to the Resolution. He said, "I am all for enquiry". Well, the spirit of enquiry in me is no less acute than in him; but where is the enquiry? The Resolution simply says — and it is in terms which you cannot possibly misunderstand — it recommends to the Governor General in Council that a general reduction of tax be made according to the needs and conditions of each province. If, Sir, the Government of India were to accept this Resolution what would it mean? It would mean that the Revenue Member, that is my humble self, would call a committee of certain people, probably officials, and visit each province, sitting in judgement on the Legislature as well as the Government of that province. It would take me some time, Sir, to complete that tour of inspection. And would the Local Governments tolerate such a course on the part of any one? I am sure that neither the Honourable Members sitting opposite would like me to do it, nor would Local Governments submit to a thing like that. It could not be done. That is what I meant when I said I wanted Honourable Members to realise the implications of the recommendation contained in this Resolution. The question then is, to what extent can I accord my support to the resolution? There is a great deal, Sir of the speech of the Honourable mover to which I can accord my support, and to the spirit which actuates his speech I can accord my sympathy; but as for the wording of the Resolution, it is such that it precludes me absolutely from agreeing to the recommendation embodied in it. I trust that my sympathy with the object of the Resolution, my support to many parts of the speech of the Honourable Member, will go far to satisfy the House that this House is in sympathy with these two things, but as to the actual

recommendation contained in the Resolution, neither I nor this House can possibly accept.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Just one word, Sir, as to Madras. The Honourable mover takes exception to the policy pursued by the Ministry of Education in his province. I am not here to defend that Ministry. If the majority of the Local Legislatures are of that view they can no doubt throw out the Ministry tomorrow. All I know is that the Madras system of education has enabled young men from Madras to obtain the greatest possible benefit out of the Indianization of the Indian Civil Service, and every province of India has the benefit of young Madrasis as civil officers in it. The second point which strikes one, and it has often been noticed by people belonging to other provinces, is that the Government of India Secretariat is mostly monopolised by brilliant young graduates of Madras.

The Honourable Mr. Jagdish Chandra Banerjee: It is absolutely true.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Well, there you are! No better proof could be given that the testimony of a Bengali who was the predecessor of the Madrasi! (Laughter). However, let that pass. Turning to the business before the House, I do not know what the Leader of the Party to which the Honourable mover belongs intends in this matter. I understood him to say that what he wants is not a recommendation to the Governor General in Council to effect a general reduction of taxation but to invite the attention of Local Governments to the expressions of opinion in this House. If that is what is wanted I am prepared to undertake to communicate the debate to Local Governments and they can take such action as they feel inclined to do. If he wants anything more to be done then I must plead my inability. I would like to know if the Honourable mover will withdraw his

Resolution on that basis or whether he wishes that the House should proceed to a division?

The Honourable Mr. V.C. Vellingiri Gounder: In view of the fact that the Honourable the Leader of the House has given sympathetic consideration to it and has promised to do what he can by communicating the views of this House to Provincial Governments, I beg leave to withdraw the Resolution.

The Resolution was, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

FACILITIES FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF HAJ

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS
5th APRIL, 1932

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I am very glad that Honourable Members who have taken part in the debate have been appreciative of the way in which my Department has dealt with the Report of the Haj Inquiry Committee. Before I proceed to deal with a few points that have been raised, may I give a birds-eye view of the history of this legislation and the one included in the two Bills that have been already introduced, the reason for my taking up a few minutes of the time of the House in doing so, is not anything that has been said by Honourable Members on the floor of the House, but certain false statements, certain half-truths, certain misrepresentations that have been made in the public Press, attacking not only the supposed inaction of the Government of India but also very seriously reflecting on the efficiency and capacity for work of the Standing Haj Committee, which reflections I, its Chairman, know are altogether undeserved. What are

the charges made, the House may ask me, which you seem to be anxious to repudiate? The charges made are something like these: The Government of India and the Department concerned have turned a deaf ear to all the Muslim representations on the subject of the Haj; the Haj Report was made, but the Government of India kept silent for two years and took no steps. But the gentleman who made statements from which the Press commented also professes great interest in the Haj. I will not go into his own history during the last few years, whether in India or outside India, but content myself by showing whether as a matter of fact the Government of India and this House have been or have not been solicitous of the welfare of the Hajis. As early as September 1928, a Resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly desiring the appointment of a Haj Inquiry Committee. That Resolution was promptly followed by the appointment of a Haj Inquiry Committee in the next session of the Assembly; that is to say, March 1929. A very strong Haj Inquiry Committee was appointed consisting of 8 or 9 Members; most of them from the Assembly, some from the Council of State, and only one from outside. That Committee toured throughout India, and spent one full year; as many as 250 associations and individuals sent in written opinions in answer to their questionnaire, which was very carefully framed. A large number of witnesses were orally examined. They did their duty thoroughly. They submitted a very carefully considered report, embodying as many as 219 recommendations, and most of them, if not all, were unanimous recommendations.

An Honourable Member: All were unanimous recommendations.

The Honourable Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Except for a little bit here and there. The Committee cost the State two lakhs of rupees, to get this work done for the Hajis. They made their Report without any avoidable delay in

March 1930. Therefore, to say that the Government of India turns a deaf ear to all representations concerning the Hajis is a bare falsehood. The man who made that statement was himself a witness before this Committee and therefore he could not possibly avoid admitting that Government did something in the matter of helping the Hajis. But he proceeds to say, having appointed that Committee, since then Government have done nothing. That again is untrue because when the Report was out in April 1930, Government took several steps, firstly the Report was in English and Government was able to secure the co-operation of a public-spirited Muslim, Maulvi Firoz-ud-Din of Lahore, who translated the whole Report into Urdu at his own expense and published it.

Again, Government proceeded to deal with these recommendations straightaway. But the critics outside and some of the Members of this House appear to think that because this legislation has been produced after two years of the making of the Report, therefore it is a long time taken by Government. It should be remembered that in the first place not only had these recommendations to be considered by the department, but Local Governments had also to be consulted, in particular the Government of Bengal and the Government of Bombay. That was not all. We had also to consult the Foreign and Political Department; we had to consult the Commerce Department; and Honourable Members know that when so many interests and so many departments are involved, it is not easy to make rapid progress. However I may mention that soon after the Report was published, my Department took up dealing with it, and a large number of meetings of the Standing Haj Committee were held. The first one was held as early as 5th July, 1930, and during 1931 four meetings were held, one in February, one in March, one in September and one in November; and all these meetings were very well attended. It was in these meetings that Government were able to deal with all the recommendations

made by the Haj Inquiry Committee. When Government were able to accept any recommendations straightaway, intimation of that acceptance was given to the Standing Committee. Those we felt doubtful about were discussed in the Standing Haj Committee, and where the Committee was unanimous, there, so far as I recollect, Government invariably accepted their recommendation. It was only in very few cases where the Haj Committee was divided, that in one or two cases Government might have failed to accept the recommendation of the majority. In every case where Government was not able to accept, it was on the advice of the Standing committee. Therefore it is for the Honourable Members to judge how far this representation that Government have turned a deaf ear is true, if it is not an actual falsehood.

Then it may be urged, how can the public know what you are doing. The Standing Haj Committee meeting is not like a public meeting of which everybody comes to know. That is perfectly true, and Government were not content with dealing with these matters in the Standing Haj Committee, but a large number of communiques were issued from time to time. The first one was issued as early as February 1931, wherein a reduction of fares for the Haj was announced. This gentleman who professes so much interest in the Hajis has failed to realise that it was the Standing Haj Committee which met the shipowners and persuaded them to reduce the fares, and that reduction was communicated to the public through a communique dated the 9th February, 1931. Another communique was issued on the 27th October, 1931, telling what action had been taken on the recommendations of the Haj Inquiry Committee's Report up till that day, and that Government was proceeding with the rest of the recommendations. Again, on the 23rd November, 1931 another communique was issued, another on the 16th December, 1931, and still another on the 21st January, 1932. For any one to say that Government were taking no interest in these things is

nothing short of an absolute untruth. It has been asked, what has been the fate of these 219 are recommendations made by the Committee. Sir, so far as I recollect, nearly 130 have been accepted as they stood, another 30 or 40 with very slight modifications on the recommendation of the Standing Haj Committee, 19 have been rejected, at least 17 or 18 of them with the concurrence of the Standing Haj Committee, and on another 40 or so suitable action has been taken because they were not recommendations that could be either accepted or rejected, but only called for certain steps to be taken. Last of all, but not the least important of all, three Bills have been prepared and have already been introduced. One of them is being sent to the Select Committee, the other two will follow. It is much to be regretted that people come to Members and Secretaries of Government, see them, place their points of view before them; they are told actually what is being done and knowing all that they go out and publish statements to the effect that the government of India turn a deaf ear to everything. I trust not only that this attack on the efficiency of the Committees of this House will be considered unfavourably by this House, but that a practice of this sort is one to be discouraged in the interest both of this House as well as of the Government.

Now, Sir, with reference to the two or three points mentioned by the Honourable Members, I assure them that Government are ready to consider any suggestion they wish to make in the Select Committee. The question to return tickets or deposits was one on which, in the Standing Committee itself, there was a great divergence of opinion. All the arguments that apply to deposits equally apply to return tickets. There was the question of people going to Najaf and settling down in Hejaz and returning overland. We were assured that as in the case of deposits, so in the case of return tickets, the money for the return passage will be refundable to the person who comes and says after a particular time that he is going to settle down

in the Hejaz, or that he is not going back at all and so on. In other words there was no difference between the two except from the shipping point of view. The shippers said that they would not have their right to sell return tickets curtailed, and we had to decide whether we could force this down their throats or not. I dare say there may be a way of doing that, but short of Government shouldering the responsibility of running the traffic itself, we felt we could not do anything else. That is why that particular recommendation, to which reference was made and on which, as I said, there was a difference of opinion, Government could not but embody in the Bill the view it has taken. All other points are such that it will be found on further study of these that there is practically no difference of opinion.

My friend Dr. Ziauddin showed some solicitude for the hookah smoker. If he reads the Report of the Haj Inquiry Committee, he will find that the maulanas who have served on that Committee were not unmindful of the inconvenience they might cause, but felt that approach to Western standards by the hookah smoker will not be altogether to the detriment of the best interest of the Hajis.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, for certain purposes be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin, Kunwar Haji Ismail Ali Khan, Sir Abdul Rahim, Maulvi Sayid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Mr. H.P. Mody, Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Mr. N. M. Dumasia, Mr. G. Morgan, Mr. A.H. Ghuzanavi, Mr. M. Masud Ahmad, Lieutenant Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim Ali Khan, Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan, Bhai Parma Nand and the Mover, and that the number of members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Committee shall be five."

The motion was adopted.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS
7th APRIL, 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, the motion before the House is a simple one, and that is to re-commit the Bill to the Select Committee and with your permission I will restrict myself to deal with the motion itself, and not try to meet the criticism of the various provisions of the Bill.

It has been very rightly observed, Sir, that the Select Committee has dealt with all the points that arose in discussions and that there is nothing in the speech of the Honourable the Mover of the present motion to indicate that there are points which have not been considered by the Select Committee and a re-committal of the Bill to the Select Committee would enable it to arrive at conclusions on those points. To my mind, that concludes the debate. I would have resumed my seat now but for the fact that the Honourable the Mover of this amendment in his speech had unfortunately expressed certain dissatisfaction or disappointment at, what he called, the policy of the Government or the attitude of the Government. Again and again he said that there is nothing in the Bill which can be said to be doing a good turn to the pilgrims. He further complained that he has not had fair play in the Select Committee and he concluded his long tale of complaints by saying that he was not given an opportunity or rather the Select Committee was not given an opportunity of intervening with the shipping people in order to improve the position of future pilgrims.

As regards the general attitude of the Government, I have only to invite the attention of the House to the fact that it was in 1927 that on a Resolution of this House, the

Haj Inquiry Committee was appointed to go into the whole matter, that they did go into the whole matter, that the Committee was except for the Chairman, entirely Muslim, that it was not lacking in Hajis, and that it represented the different provinces of India as well. The Report of the Haj Committee was published and translated, and, I believe, has been read too by some. It made over 200 recommendations — and I have more than once stated — published a detailed communique to the effect that more than 80 per cent. of the recommendations of the Haj Inquiry Committee have been accepted by the Government after they were considered by the Standing Haj Committee, that of the remaining, nearly half have not been finally decided because of their very nature, and that of the recommendations rejected, barring two or three, none have been rejected except on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee. Therefore, to make a statement on the floor of this House complaining what is the good of having Advisory Committees if you do not carry out their advice, is, it seems to me very unfair, particularly when the Honourable Member knows that their is not a single recommendation of the Advisory Committee, barring the one referring to compulsory deposit that has not been accepted by the Government. The present Bill is entirely based on the Report of Haj Inquiry Committee except to that extent; but this Bill does not include all the recommendations of the Haj Committee for the very obvious reason that all the recommendations did not need legislation. Therefore, the Report of the Haj Committee should not be judged by this Bill, because this Bill only refers to one small part of the problem, that is to say, the reforms connected with pilgrim ships, and therefore you look in vain into the provisions of this Bill to say what work has been done by the Haj Committee. That, I think, Sir, will suffice to meet the point as to the policy or the attitude of the Government. The policy and attitude of the Government, if I may, with your permission, enunciate, are to help pilgrims to Hedjaz in going there and getting back

with as much comfort and as little expense as possible. It is not the duty or the business of the Government to in any way discourage Haj. People go to all sorts of places from India. Indian Muslims do that,— why not to Haj? Some of us feel, Sir, that going away from India has a very salutary effect on those who do go. They come back more experienced and wiser men than they were when they left the Indian shores. However, Sir, leaving this matter alone, let me assure the House that the Select Committee was appointed by this House last April. I forget the date. It was possibly the 5th. We have just missed it by two days. We met at Simla for more days than one, thrashed out every possible provision. As is usual with Select Committees, this one believed in taking time over their deliberation and my experience has been that it is never wise to prevent their taking as much time as they like. We more or less finished our report at Simla. We decided to sleep over it for a few months during the monsoon and have a look at it again when we are in Delhi, thinking perhaps in the plains more light may dawn on us to arrive at certain conclusions on points that we left over for that light. We were told that there will be a great deal of discussion and, therefore, we should set apart a number of days. I do not know exactly the number of days that were required by a particular member, and I do not want, what I say, to be construed as any attempt on my part to win a smile or perhaps a laughter from you, that is not my intention. We fixed three or four days to be on the safe side and we settled down to our business. We were able to finish it much earlier than we anticipated and, therefore, to say that ten days were not given to it and Government's attitude of mind was very unfavourable is neither intelligible to me nor to those who sat on the Select Committee. Two of them have spoken already. I think it is an undeserved reflection on one of those who had the difficult task of presiding over the deliberations of the committee. Then it was said "Why don't you give us a chance of getting into touch with the shipping companies and getting privileges for the Hajis"

Now, Sir, I assure you that if I saw any prospect of obtaining privileges from shipping companies for the Hajis by spending a hundred or two hundred rupees or one or two thousands for the matter of that, from public funds, I should consider it foolish to economies. I would gladly spend that amount, but you, Sir, know what these shipping companies are. They can effect marvels. They have a trick of making strange bed fellows of Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin and Mr. Morgan.

Moreover, certain information supplied to us by the shipping companies indicated the inadvisability of utilising individuals, whether members of the Select Committee or not, for such negotiations but every one of us was free on his own responsibility to seek information from the shipping agency directly or through us and for this very reason certain representatives of the shipping company were requested to be present at Simla and they were talked to. Moreover, we were lucky to have in the Select Committee one who knew all about the shipping companies and their views and their wishes and who gave expression to them a few minutes ago. Sir, this concludes my observations on the points which deserve some comment.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS
8th APRIL, 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: The first point that I wish the House to bear in mind, Sir, is this. This is not a proposal which has been brought forward by Government on their own responsibility, but it is a proposal which has been brought forward by Government on the recommendations of a Committee of this House which was non-official and elected and Muslim, of which the Chairman alone was a non-Muslim official. The non-official elected Muslims of this Committee were not the Westernised Muslims who have or who may

be alleged to have scanty respect for the orthodox. On the other hand, Government have the support of those who are either extremists in orthodoxy or very near it. The only member of the Haj Inquiry Committee who could be called Westernised was one who is no longer Member of this Assembly — I am referring to Mr. Fazl Ibrahim Rahimtoola. Others were either extremely orthodox or next door to it. No one, Sir, will challenge my statement who knows the Honourable Member from Madras, Sayed Murtaza Saheb, no one will challenge my statement who knows the Honourable Member from Bengal, Haji Choudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan — he is also a Haji by the way — and no one will challenge my statement who knows Maulana Shafee Daudi. The Committee had a representative from the Punjab hailing from Multan, the home of orthodoxy and the place which has had the privilege of contributing a great deal to literature on Islamic Theology in the past during the Mughal period. Therefore, Sir, the House will notice that the support the Government have relied upon is not the support of men who have been caught by the Westernised system of education whether hailing from Aligarh or from Western Universities, but of men who belong to the orthodox class. They may be men who are well-off, but cannot be said to be millionaires who do not know the condition of the poor — I believe, Sir, I am not doing injustice to the Honourable Members who have opposed this measure of reform, and I say that none of them can claim to be more orthodox than the men I have mentioned. The opposition has been led by my friend, Sir Muhammad Yakub...

Sir Muhammad Yakub: Not by me, but by Maulana Haji Wajihuddin and Mr.Masood Ahmad.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I beg your pardon. Technically, Sir, the motion on which my friend, Sir Muhammad Yakub, made an eloquent speech has not been initiated by him and he was only

supporting Mr. Morgan. I do not in any way question my friend's right to entertain any opinions he likes on measures of reform.

This is a matter of personal conviction, irrespective of whether he hails from what in India it was hoped at one time would be the fountain head of reform movement, wherefrom reformers were expected to emerge, I mean Aligarh. If the considerations to which he has invited the attention of the House yesterday and today were something new, one might have felt impressed; but does he really think that these are things that have been brought forward for the first time and are to be taken seriously? Sir, I can remember in my school days having read in Tahzib-ul-Ikhlaq of Sir Sayid Ahmad's time, a description of these very objections that he has stressed in this House, having been put into the mouth of his critic whom he calls most shocking obscurantist and terrible obstructionist in the way of the progress and advance of Muslims in India. The Honourable Member has talked a lot about the poor and the purity of utensils, etc., whether the food is cooked in a particular way or not. These poor Muslims, he urges, want to know whether the utensils have been washed all right or not. Is he not using, Sir, the word "poor" for himself? Does he not understand that the poor people — poor people, Sir, are poor people — unfortunately do not admit either of distinctions of country or even distinctions of religion? The very poor people, Sir, know no such distinction. They are not the people who can afford to say "Oh, we are not used to this thing or that thing, and we are not used to this food". The poor people eat when they get food, when they feel that they cannot really get on any longer without food. These are the people with whom apparently my Honourable friend has not had the opportunity of being acquainted. His criticism today about the *purdah* ladies was about the limit of futile criticism in which one can indulge against a reform proposal. What are these *purdah* ladies of Sir Muhammad Yakub doing nowadays? Am I to

understand that each *purdah* lady has a woman servant carrying her *chula* once or twice a day, first to the ship kitchen bringing her coal or fuel, then planting that *chula* in the centre or perhaps in a corner of the deck, then goes to the top to wash her *degchi*, cooks her own meal, washes her *degchi*, gets her rations? No, she does it all herself, and there are no sets of female servants there to bring her this fuel and water and supply of uncooked rations He urges the absence of women servants as a conclusive argument against the reform. Again, he imagines that these poor deck people have luxurious dining halls as are provided for Members of the Assembly or for those who go to big conferences. Nothing of the kind. (Interruption) My friend interrupts: "what is the improvement?" If his idea is that unless the Indian people can be supplied with means to attend in dinning halls for their meals, there is no improvement, then I am afraid he will have to die without anywhere near being hundreds of miles of that reform. The very notion of having refreshment halls for the poor of India enters the mind of only those who do not know what poverty is and do not know the economic conditions in which Indian masses are at present living. Therefore, I assure you that the object of this reform is nothing else except to afford a great measure of sanitary and hygienic comforts and conveniences to a large number of pilgrims. It does not aspire to do very much, but it does aspire to give relief from a large number of inconveniences from which pilgrims suffer at present. It has been said: "You are going to charge for food: what will happen to these poor people?" "To whom will the millionaires who are on the pilgrim ship give their charity? They must give charity to somebody and if everybody has his own food there through his ticket, what will happen to the charitable impulse of the rich?" Am I to understand that the pilgrims consist of two classes, millionaires and beggars? Is there nothing in between? I assure you that may be one or two per cent pilgrims who are millionaires: there may be three or four per cent who are beggars; but there is a large body

consisting of 95 per cent of the pilgrims who are neither millionaires nor beggars, but just simple, honest, barely well-to-do Muslims inspired by one desire, to discharge their Islamic obligation in this connection. Are these 95 per cent of the people entirely to be ignored? As to the millionaires, may I assure them through the opposition that they will have no difficulty in satisfying their craving for giving away money in charity? This three or four per cent of the pilgrims, if they really are beggars, as I am led by my Honourable friends in the opposition to believe, they will find means during the 12 days of the journey on this pilgrimage to extract money out of the millionaires under one pretext or another. So I assure you that the millionaire pilgrim is safe: he will have plenty of scope to indulge in generosity and charity. The scope of activity of the beggar incase he does exist — I am not prepared to admit that he does exist in such large numbers as is alleged to be the case by some members opposite — he will have plenty of scope there and elsewhere to indulge in his evil ways. But I have not the least doubt that the reform is really one badly needed. Government might have hesitated for a long time to enter upon that reform if it had not the support, the large hearted enlightened support, of Members of this House and realised that those Members do not belong to the Westernised sections of the Muslims, but belong to the orthodox classes and who have been actuated by one desire and one desire alone to serve the best interest of pilgrims. The Muslims masses are not as ignorant as in the past and it is hoped, they will appreciate that the Haj Inquiry Committee has rendered great service to the community.

One word more. I am asked what will happen if the shipping companies refuse to carry out what the statute could ask them to do. Curious as it may appear, this serious question has been seriously propounded today by the Honourable Member from Madras, Mr. Upi Saheb Bahadur. Yesterday, if I understood him aright, his allega-

tion was that Government were devising means and methods of putting money into the pockets of the shipping companies. That was the charge against the Government. I must be a wonderful person if I can through my ill-deeds one day rob the poor pilgrims to enrich the company and the next day proceed to impoverish and ruin that company. I know that characteristic is often supposed to be possessed by great autocratic monarch of Asia. I do not claim to be one, nor do I aspire to attain that dignity. I assure you that in our schemes of reforms connected with pilgrimage traffic, shipping company is a very important factor. We believe that the best interests of shipping companies and the best interests of the pilgrims can be reconciled and if shipping companies would be satisfied with fair profits out of pilgrim traffic, the pilgrims will not grudge them the profits that they make, and Government are there not to help the companies to make undue profits nor to let the pilgrims get things out of the company which tend to impoverish the company, but to see that fair play reigns.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS
10th APRIL, 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, we have, after a lengthy debate, arrived at the end. I am very glad that on the floor of this House all that could possibly have been said criticising the Bill has been said once, twice and many times over. There are certain things which emerge as approved not only by a majority of the House, but practically unanimously, and such agreement it is difficult to find in support of a measure of reform. The main point urged against this measure is that it does not include all the recommendations made by the Haj Inquiry Committee, and, therefore, is defective. I think I explained yesterday that in this Bill there are only those measures which

relate to pilgrim traffic and suitable for inclusion in a statute, while other recommendations are such as come in under rules and, therefore, are not stated in the Bill. Then, certain points were raised, points which, I think, it is necessary for me to mention and reply to, so that there may be no misapprehension on those points. The first one was that the Haj Inquiry Committee's report is not a document which is in itself a good and sound document: secondly, that it has not been duly considered by Government and its recommendations have not been accepted by the Government; thirdly, that a large number of recommendations of this Inquiry Committee have been rejected by Government. And, finally, that the reform about food is such as not to be a reform, but a most serious and objectionable innovation likely to do harm instead of good to the people for whom it is intended. May I dispose of the last point first, because we have heard such a lot about food that it has become quite nauseating.

May I remind Honourable Members of this House that there are such institutions amongst Musslamans in India as are called *Urs Shareef*, that is to say, the anniversaries of great saints — such as the Ajmer Shareef, the Pak Patan Shareef and in many other places and to which functions people, not from one province, but from many provinces, come — not only from Indian provinces, but also from across the border, both from the side of Baluchistan as well as Afghanistan. Is it alleged that at *Urs* individual votaries try and cook for themselves? Is it alleged that the institution of *langar* is not known to Muslims? It is surprising to me that in a spirit of controversy simple facts, well-known to all of us, are put aside. Until we develop a spirit of calm consideration, even when we are discussing points in dispute, there is absolutely no hope of our ever getting on to the stage where we canv see both sides of the question. (Interruption) The Honourable Member from Madras may not possess many shrines: if he

has not, then I pity him and trust that he will get some soon.

An Honourable Member: They come to Ajmer.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: They do? I trust he will come to the *langars*...

Sir Muhammad Yakub (Rohialkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural). Is this supply of cooked food compulsory for any *Urs*?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: It is not a question of whether it is compulsory or not. There is the *langar*; and is there any poor man who does not avail himself of the *langar*, whether that *langar* is of Hindus, or of Muslims or of any other community?

Sir Muhammad Yakub: That is only for the beggars.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: There, again, the Honourable Member considers that there are two classes, the well-to-do and the beggars. He is wrong. I myself have visited the Pak Patan Shareef and enjoyed the hospitality at the *Urs* of Pak Patan Shareef and I do not think the Honourable Member from the United Provinces would put me in the class of beggars. Similarly, I know for certain that very many of the middle class people, who go to these *Urses*, do take advantage of the hospitality of these *langars*. It is wrong to say that these *langars* are intended only for beggars. As a matter of fact the institution of *langar*, if I may say so, is an indication of Islamic culture. Therefore, on the question of food, I think, I have said enough to show that it is not right to say that the reform is going to be very revolutionary. Nothing of the kind. Again, any one, who is familiar with those parts of India which are preponderately Muslim, understand that the shops of *"Tabbakh"*, that is to say, the sellers of cooked food, for instance, in Peshawar, are very largely patronised. In fact, there are very few people

barring the rich who cook their food at home, and they generally indent upon these shops for even their daily meals. As for travellers, they invariably go to these shops. There, again, to say that cooked food for others is something revolutionary, something new, is not right.

May I, Sir, remind the House whether they contemplate as a self-governing India in charge of their army making arrangements for the rations of their army, each soldier cooking for himself, and members recruited from Bengal, from United Provinces having a separate kitchen made for them? They may contemplate that, Sir, but if they do adopt it, they will make the cooking arrangements for their respective armies much more expensive than at present. People contemplate common mess for all Indians when they are in the national army.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I cannot but regret that so much stress was laid on this aspect of the legislation. I am free to admit that it is a reform, but I cannot admit that it is such a dangerous reform that after careful consideration one should not have undertaken. When I say careful consideration, I have again in mind the mentality of those Members of the Haj Inquiry Committee and of the Select Committee and further of the Standing Haj Committee, where all orthodox people, extremely orthodox people, were in favour of this reform; and it is right that never was a discordant note struck by any Member right up till after the proceedings of the Select Committee. I think the point taken by the Honourable Member from Bihar, Mr. Shafee Daudi, was correct, and those who are opposing the Bill, one or two Members no doubt are doing their duty, as the duty of all oppositionists must be to critically examine every measure in the handling of which they have not had a share. There is no harm in it. I dare say if they had the same opportunities as the Members of the Haj Inquiry Committee of going over the whole of India, examining witnesses and then

forming their opinions, their opinions would have been exactly the same as those of the Haj Inquiry Committee. I cannot help stressing the point that when I read the names of the members who served on the Haj Inquiry Committee and, after that, on the Standing Haj Committee, and, after that, on the Select Committee, it is such a list that Government could not but have accepted the advice given by these Committees. I say, again, Sir, that I do not want to belittle the critical work that has been done in connection with this Bill by two Members, one from United Provinces, Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin, who, with the best of intentions, representing the extremely conservative section, did very properly express himself advising caution. I have tried to appreciate the point of view of the Honourable Member from Bihar, Mr. Masood Ahamd, who ordinarily possesses liberal and progressive views. Therefore, to me it was a matter of some surprise,— I won't say of disappointment,— when in a spirit of controversy he took up the cudgels of a critic, and wanted to condemn the whole thing root and branch. Because of this attitude, a great deal of force that one might have otherwise detected in this criticism has escaped notice.

Lastly, it was said that this is a religious matter. Well this is a religious matter only in the sense that this is an attempt to promote the convenience of those who undertake pilgrimage, and I trust the measure does attain a certain amount of success in achieving that object.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I assure the House that Government are under very great obligation to the members of the Haj Inquiry Committee and to the members of the Standing Haj Committee and, further, the members of the Select Committee and have had wholehearted support from these three institutions and as you, Sir, very rightly said it was only a minority of one or two, though a very vociferous minority, that made the House take so long over the Bill; otherwise,

the business might have been transacted in less than half the time. As to the fact that during the consideration stage, some Honourable Members did not get the opportunity of speaking, I do not think, in view of what has been said in the speeches made in earlier stages of the debate, this can detract from the value of the support they have given to the measure. I am sure the Bill will prove in course of time a great blessing to all those who will be proceeding to the Haj. It is our intention to make the Haj pilgrimage as comfortable as possible without making it too expensive for the propel to undertake, and that is a question of principle which has been very rightly enunciated by the Haj Inquiry Committee and to which the Government adhere. There is nothing for me, Sir, now to do except to thank the Members of the Select Committee and others who took part in the debate once more and assure them that the Government, in framing the rules and regulations, will stand by the principle which has been enunciated during the course of the debate. Now one word, Sir, with reference to certain unfortunate observations hastily and thoughtlessly made no doubt by one or two speakers during the course of this debate as to what was said by the Honourable Member in charge of this Bill. When speaking on various motions, he has given expression to the views, of the Department and not to his personal views. Further, I may be permitted to add that the language in which he has given expression to the views of the Department, having listened to it myself, was absolutely unexceptionable, and I myself could not have used better or more suitable language in expressing those views. It is, therefore, a pity that in the heat of controversy, undeserved and unjust reflections should have been made, however indirectly it may be on those who took part in this debate and performed their task to the best of their ability. I do hope, Sir, that the House will pass this measure with as much unanimity as is possible, and which the heat of controversy will allow.

Mr. President (The Honourable Mr. R.K.

Shanmukham Chetty): The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, for certain purposes, as reported by the Select Committee, and, as amended, be passed."

The Assembly divided and the Bill was adopted.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING (AMENDMENT) BILL COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS 15th APRIL, 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, for certain purposes, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration."

Honourable Members will no doubt remember that in response to a Muslim demand made in 1928, Government appointed a Haj Inquiry Committee in March, 1929, and on that Committee Members of this Council were also represented. That Committee made an exhaustive tour and presented its report in 1930. That report was examined by Government and was duly considered in consultation with local Governments and the Haj Standing Committee on which again this House is represented. It was as a result of these consultations that the present Bill was prepared. It is one of the three Bills prepared in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Haj Inquiry Committee. One of these three has already been passed by this House; this is the second Bill and the third one is not being proceeded with for the present. Honourable Members will have noticed that the basic idea of the present Bill is to make for the comfort and convenience of the pilgrims without adding to their expense. The object is that as far as possible Haj be not made expensive, but at the same time all comforts that can be secured for them should be

secured. It was found by the Haj Inquiry Committee that the practice of the Hajis cooking for themselves was such as was absolutely insanitary, even dangerous and did not permit those interested in them to do anything in the way of affording comforts and conveniences for them. This was the basic idea of the report, and it is this idea which is the pivot of the present Bill. When this provision is enforced, it is hoped larger space will be available for pilgrims for their accommodation.

The next provision in the Bill which is of some importance is to make pilgrims immune against cholera and small-pox by inoculation. This will do away with the need for quarantine at Kamaran, a matter of very great importance.

The third important provision is: When the pilgrims return, they have to wait for boats. The waiting period was 25 days previously during the period immediately following the Haj. That 25 days has now been reduced to 15.

The fourth important point was that no real attempt could be made to enable Hajis to leave the ports of embarkation in India as soon as they arrived there. They had to wait for days, sometimes weeks, which added to their expense and discomfort. We have introduced provisions which enable provisional dates to be advertised so that Hajis can arrange their arrival accordingly, and at the same time we have provided that shipping companies should be able to comply with the statute better by giving exact dates.

There is one point on which Government has not been able to comply with the recommendation of the Haj Inquiry Committee and that is with reference to their wish that deposits be made compulsory and return tickets be abolished. After very careful consideration we came to the conclusion that for the present it was best to try both systems side by side on a voluntary basis. It is true the

shipping companies would on their side try to push the return ticket system; but, on the other hand, if the deposit system is undoubtedly superior to the return ticket systems, there is no reason why Hajis themselves should not see the advantage, and further there is no reason why the Port Haj Committee when it is operating should not be able to convince Hajis who are ignorant of the facts of the comparative merits of the two, so that they may decide in favour of deposit and against the return ticket. In the meantime all privileges that attach to return tickets have been extended to deposits as well. Lastly, Sir, unclaimed deposits and the value of unused return tickets, at present not provided for by law, have been arranged for, and when such amounts are received by Government they will be transferred to the Port Haj Committees which will give the funds to be utilised for the convenience and comfort of Hajis. That, Members will realize, is a very satisfactory provision.

We cannot, Sir, in this world have all we want, and even if we get all we want we are apt to feel that there is something else we did not get. That is human nature. Therefore I will not say anything myself which Members might criticise as self-laudation on the part of one who has produced the Bill, but I have ventured upon a few words of commendation realizing that the Bill really is not my handiwork at all. Credit for it I claim, not for myself, but for the Haj Inquiry Committee on which representatives of this House also sat. They have done a great work and great credit is due to them. I trust that Honourable Members will realize that this was a Committee brought into existence because the Muslim public wanted it, that the Committee worked in the interests of the public and that their recommendations were speedily brought under consideration by government resulting in legislation within a very short period of time. I am told by those who know these things, that there are not many instances where necessary legislation of this description has been introduced and

passed after receipt of the recommendations of a Committee so quickly as in the present case.

THE HEDJAZ PILGRIMS MUALIMS BILL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS 16th SEPTEMBER, 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I would ask the indulgence of the House just for a few moments to state how we have reached the present stage in this particular matter. I think it was in the year 1928 that this House appointed the Haj Inquiry Committee. That Committee took about a year or so to make a report. It consisted of Members of the Central Legislature and one outsider. They were all Mussalmans except for the Chairman. Their report was mostly unanimous. One part of the report was to the following effect. There are serious complaints as to the pilgrim guides' operations in India, that is to say, before embarking, inasmuch as it is alleged that some of them cheat and maltreat the ignorant class of Hajis. That cheating and mal-treating is not with reference to any religious rites, but with reference to purchasing of tickets, railway or ship tickets, with reference of purchases of food, and purchases of other things, and in the matter of accounts. I think I am right in saying that as to the existence of these complaints there are no two opinions. There may be differences of opinion as to the cause of these complaints. I have tried to find out what possible explanation there can be as to the existence of these complaints, and why these complaints exist. I have been able to find one man who says that these complaints are altogether unfounded. All guides are good, helpful, honest and straightforward, and that complaints do exist but they are due to the fact that the average Indian pilgrim is very miserly and stingy. He welcomes all the services these pilgrim guides render to him but when the time comes for paying them, he is very miserly and would like to pay half

the sum that is really due, with the result that the pilgrim guide is offended and when he is offended he makes a row and he extracts the balance of what he considers his due and the Hajis says, the pilgrim guides are a bad lot. This gentleman was, I should say, an advocate of pilgrim guides, saying that they are perfectly in the right, that the Hajis are in the wrong and the existence of complaints is due to what he calls the inherent defect of character in the average Indian pilgrim who wants to receive services but not make adequate payment for them. I am not in a position to say whether this gentleman who represented the cause of the pilgrim guides very strongly to me is in the right or not but the vast majority I came across have said that there are pilgrim guides and pilgrim guides. Some of them are good. Some of them are bad. The bad ones do maltreat the pilgrims. They do cheat them and such instances have occurred and they are given currency to and the pilgrim guides have got a bad name. Therefore, I assume that so far as the existence of complaints goes, the Haj Inquiry Committee were in the right, that in all probability the explanation that there are some who are good and some who are not good is also the correct one. So we arrive at the position that there is certain grievance based on really unsatisfactory pilgrim guides operating in India, that it is desirable in the interest not of the Muslims of the status, knowledge and position of the Members of this House, but of their ignorant poor brethren who are not in a position to cope with men with wide experience, sharper intellect and greater knowledge of the world who can impose, themselves upon these untraveled ignorant Indian Muslims, who in their anxiety to go to Hedjaz fall victims to the unscrupulous character of some of these pilgrim guides. I think, Sir, on this point also there will be no difference of opinion even amongst those who have spoken on the subject, that is to say, the desirability of taking such action as is possible or as it is practicable to take in order to remove this defect. There are some who feel that it is not possible to eradicate this defect by legislation. There

are others who feel that no doubt legislation may not eradicate it altogether but it may go some length in counteracting the fraudulent acts or deceitful acts of these pilgrim guides. I do not think I am really called upon now to say that a law, if eventually passed will stamp it out altogether, but I think the House will agree with me that it is a matter which is worth trying.

This Bill was introduced as long as ago as March, 1932. It was referred to a Select Committee and a very strong Select Committee, which sat in the summer of 1932 and thrashed out the whole thing. They arrived at their decisions which are incorporated in the revised Bill that was laid on the table of the House but when we had finished our labours some of us, in fact most of us, felt that the Bill was not as definite as we desired it to be. It appeared to us that it probably would cover many cases that we would rather exclude from the purview of the Bill and in the second place that there were cases which we would like to provide against which were not covered by the provisions of the Bill. Therefore, the majority of the Select Committee said that the Bill that we have eventually brought out be not for the present proceeded with. Some thought that the Bill, as it had been thrashed out, was a good Bill and, therefore, they wanted to proceed with it, with the result that Government decided to act on the advice of the majority, and not forthwith proceed with the Bill. It was laid on the table of the House I think last February and then the question for Government to decide was what to do with it. The advice was "do not proceed with it for the present". A strong minority consisting of Sir Abdur Rahim and another Member said "Proceed with it as it is". The next step that Government took was to consult the Standing Haj Committee. Their advice was, "let us have the opinion of the Muslim Press and the muslim public". So the Bill was sent round to all the papers whether they were in receipt of Government advertisements or not, whether they were pro-Government or antigovernment.

How can you say that the Press like other public people are pro-Government or anti-Government without referring to a particular date. Is that not so? People with open minds, as we are in India, can change our minds like other people. We may hold an opinion for a measure today and next week we may hold a different opinion. Therefore it would have been rash on the part of my Department of refuse circulation of this measure to a paper on the assumption that yesterday it was anti-Governament, for who knows that it may not tomorrow be pro-Government. I am not one of those who are pessimistic about change of opinion. I always hope and trust that if my opinion is the right one, those who do not share my views today may do so tomorrow.

Mr. B.R. Puri (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): You may change your view also.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Yes, but I would prefer to put it the other way. The result was that when all these opinions were actually received we found that those who stood out against the Bill were not more than three. One of them was the *Al Jamiat* of Delhi which some people allege has been for a long time non-co-operating and holding views about civil disobedience of a very extremist nature, though I hear that recently it has had occasion to modify its views in the light of the new circumstances that appear to have come into being . Therefore, there was a very strong opinion in support of the Bill and yet at that time there were two courses open to Government to adopt. One was to proceed with the Bill and the other was not to proceed with it but to have it recommited to the Select Committee with a view to enable all the suggestions that had been made during this canvassing of public opinion to be discussed in the Select Committee in the light of the criticism received and to see if it were prepared to modify the Bill or not. I thought, as I said, at the very beginning of my remarks, that this was a

reasonable course to adopt and that there would hardly be any objection from any part of the House to this being done. Why, then, this occasion has been availed of to enter into a discussion in which two or three things have been prominently brought out. One is the usual argument that the *Shariat* is in danger; you are legislating about religion and therefore we are on principle opposed to any legislation of the kind. Well, Sir, I understand this line of argument but I must frankly state that I do not agree with it nor do I want to encourage it. Situated as Muslims are in India, for us to take the line that everything relating to Haj even though it be a case of transport from the home of the Haji to Bombay is a religious matter, neither for the present Government nor for any other Government that one can conceive of in India, would it be possible to make any proper and suitable arrangements. The matter of this Pilgrims' Guides Bill is not a religious matter; it is a matter of protecting the ignorant against the professional men, some of whom are strongly believed to be not what they ought to be. Therefore, the legislation contemplated is one of the ordinary kind protecting the weak against the more clever to such an extent as the State can. The second argument is that Haj has a great significance of which the British Government is very much afraid and therefore the British Government has conceived a plan of having a number of laws made relating to Haj, the effect of which would be that people will not go to perform their Haj. The Haj will die out and the Muslims will not proceed to Hedjaz. It is really to make a statement on this point that I ventured to ask you, Sir, to let me speak. So far as I know, as a Member in charge of this Department, there is not the slightest foundation for this suspicion. My policy is to do all that can reasonably be done to afford comfort and protection to the pilgrims, to give them all facilities that it is possible to give and to make their trip of Hedjaz as comfortable and as little expensive as possible. And why? Firstly, because it is the religious duty of the Mussalmans who can afford to perform the Haj and why should I or the Government of

which I am a Member stand in the way of that being done. Secondly, I, in common with most of the Members of this Assembly, believe that a travelled person is a much better citizen than an untraveled person.

Ta ba du'kkan-i-khana dar girvi.

Hargiz ai kham! admi nah shavi.

As long as you are confined within your own house, you will never really attain maturity. That is the reason why this House always likes a large number of its Members to proceed to England now and then.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): At the expense of the Government.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: No, no; you must not indulge in insinuations. And Haj affords unique opportunities of benefiting by travel by making people come in contact with people of other countries. If you simply go as Cook's tourists, you can only visit particular countries, one after the other, at a tremendous expense to yourself. But if you go to perform your Haj, inasmuch as a very large number of people from different countries have travelled to the same destination, you have the benefit of meeting not only the people of Hedjaz but people from all parts of the world. Now, that is a civic advantage, an advantage which all Hajis bring back to India not only for their own personal benefit, not only for their own religious benefit, but I call it also a civic benefit. In other words, their horizon and outlook are widened by rubbing their shoulders with people from different countries, which, in itself, is a great asset to them. Therefore, how is it possible that I or this House should countenance in any way the policy of restricting the movements of Muslim Hajis to Hedjaz? There is not the slightest sense in that policy.

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Are you afraid of Pan-Islamism?

The Honourablea Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: The Honourable Member from the United Provinces is talking of Pan-Islamism.

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: I do not talk.

The Honourablea Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: You have put that question. There is nothing to be ashamed of in that.

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: I am not at all ashamed to have put that question.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I turn from him to the right and look at my Honourable friend, Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy, who was believed at one time to be the prophet of Pan-Islamism in India and, with whom, I have been in intimate touch ever since this young prophet came from London *via* Egypt to Lahore where I had the pleasure of having him nominated as the Principal of the Islamia College of which Institution I was the Secretary. Therefore, so far as the Pan-Islamic movement in India and, for the matter of that, in the world is concerned, probably in this House, after Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy, I know more than any other Member does. When I say I know more, I mean not only the outward expression of it, but the inward significance too. Sir, Pan-Islamism of which young Muslim India dreamt years ago was never more than a myth and today, there are not even the ashes left of that myth. Therefore those Honourable Members who imagine that there is a bogey of Pan-Islamism of which Europe is frightened, I am afraid they are suffering from some hallucination or delusion. I assure the House, I do not think the House needs that assurance, but if a few Members are still dreaming of Pan-Islamism, I say they had better make up their minds to stand on their

own legs in India as Indians. (Hear, hear). The utmost they can do in that line is to make up their minds to proceed to Haj as soon as they have enough money to do so.

Shaikh Sadiq Hasan: Will the Honourable Member do the same?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: When I see the Honourable Member come back safe and an improved man after performing the Haj, I shall do so. I trust these few observations I have made will assure the Honourable Members, that there is no foundation for the suspicion of those who have been saying that Government want to stop people proceeding to Haj. I trust these suspicious Members possess the zeal and enthusiasm for Haj more than is possessed by others. When I, on the floor of this House, ask them to take the earliest opportunity of proceeding to Haj surely it cannot be said that the Government of India want to discourage pilgrimage and I trust that the request I have made to them, they will in their turn make to those outside this House who can afford to make the pilgrimage. Having said that I need say nothing more and I trust that the motion before the House will be passed unanimously and I further hope that the committee will be in a position to thrash out a Bill which will save the ignorant Indian Muslims from such losses to which they have been liable in the past and thus encourage others to proceed to Haj instead of discouraging them. (Applause.)

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): I say at the very outset that the Honourable Member in charge of this Bill has as much right to speak on behalf of Muslim community as any other elected Muslim Member of this House. (Hear, hear.) He commands the confidence of the Muslims as much, if not more, as any other person. I also say at the outset that those Members of the Legislature whose names are found amongst the Members of the Select Committee are as

much true representatives of Muslims as others whose names are not there. We have as much confidence in them as we have confidence in those who are not members of the Select Committee. Therefore, this point is quite clear that there is no question of confidence or no-confidence in the members of the Select Committee. All of us have got at heart the interests of Mussalmans for whose benefit this legislation is intended and there is no question of attributing motives.

INDIANS OVERSEAS: STATEMENT RE WORKING OF THE CAPE TOWN AGREEMENT OF 1927 COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS 5TH APRIL, 1932

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Education, Health and Lands Member): With your permission, Sir, I beg to make the following statement:

1. In accordance with paragraph 7 of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 delegates of the Government of the Union of South Africa and of the Government of India met at Cape Town from January 12th to February 4th, 1932, to consider the working of the Agreement and to exchange views as to any modifications that experience might suggest. The delegates had a full and frank discussion in the Conference, which was throughout marked by a spirit of cordiality and mutual good-will.

2. Both Governments consider that the Cape Town Agreement has been a powerful influence in fostering friendly relations between them and that they should continue to co-operate in the common object of harmonising their respective interests in regard to Indians resident in the Union.

3. It was recognised that the possibilities of the Union's scheme of assisted emigration to India are now practically exhausted owing to the economic and climatic

condition of India as well as to the fact that 80 per cent. of the Indian population of the Union are now South African-born. As a consequence the possibilities of land-settlement outside India, as already contemplated in paragraph 3 of the Agreement, have been further considered. The Government of India will co-operate with the Government of the Union in exploring the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians both from India and from South Africa, in other countries. In this investigation which should take place during the course of the present year, a representative of the Indian community in South Africa will, if they so desire, be associated. As soon as the investigation has been completed the two Governments will consider the results of the inquiry.

4. No other modification of the Agreement is for the present considered necessary.

5. Before passing on to the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure (Amendment) Bill, Honourable Members would, perhaps, like me to comment on the more important points in the settlement which I have just announced.

(1) Recognition by the two Governments of the need of continued co-operation in the common object of harmonising their respective interests in regard to Indians resident in the Union justifies the hope that friendly relations between South Africa and India, which are of such vital importance to the Indian community in the Union, will continue.

(2) It has become increasingly evident for sometime before the Conference met at Cape Town that Indian opinion both in South Africa and in India had become unfavourable to the scheme of assisted emigration to India. This was due to no shortcoming on the part of either Government but primarily to climatic and

economic causes, and the fact that 80 per cent. of the Indian population of South Africa were born in the Union. The recognition by the Union Government that the possibilities of this scheme are now practically exhausted should be received with considerable relief by Indian opinion on both sides of the ocean.

(3) The proposal that the possibilities of land-settlement outside India should be examined merely carries out an integral part of the 1927 Agreement. It may be welcomed on two grounds:

(i) If it results in a satisfactory scheme of land settlement, it may provide an outlet, especially to the younger generation of Indians in South Africa, in a country where they may have greater opportunities both for economic development and for political self-expression.

(ii) The association of a representative of the South African Indian Congress in the investigation will not only be a valuable safeguard for the inquiry, but constitutes an experiment in collaboration between the Union Government and the Indian community in South Africa which, it is hoped, will be extended to other fields.

(4) The Agreement stands unmodified except as regards the scheme of assisted emigration to India, and the proposed exploration of the possibilities of land settlement elsewhere. This means, to mention only two points out of the last Agreement, that the Government of the Union continue to adhere to the policy of uplifting the permanent section of their Indian

population, and that the Government of India will continue to maintain in South Africa an Agent whose presence has admittedly proved most helpful alike to the Indian community in South Africa and to the promotion of friendship between the two countries.

6. I shall now endeavour to deal with the Transval Asiatic Tenure (Amendment) Bill. The Conference decided that it should be considered by a sub-committee consisting of two representatives of each Delegation. After discussion in the sub-committee Dr. Malan, who was one of Union representatives, agreed to place informally before members of the Select Committee, which had prepared the Bill, suggestions of the delegates from India. Results of this consultation may be summarised as follows:

(1) Clause 5 of the Bill which embodied the principle of segregation by providing for the earmarking of areas for the occupation or ownership of land by Asiatics has been deleted. Instead, the Gold Law is to be amended to empower the Minister of the Interior, after consultation with the Minister of Mines to withdraw any land from the operation of sections 130 and 131 in so far as they prohibit residence upon or occupation of any land by coloured persons. This power will be exercised after inquiry into individual cases by an impartial commission presided over by a judge, to validate present illegal occupations and to permit exceptions to be made in future from occupational restrictions of Gold Law. It is hoped that liberal use will be made of this new provision of the law so as to prevent the substantial dislocation of Indian business which strict application of the existing restrictions would involve, and to provide Indians in

future with reasonable facilities to trade in the mining areas without segregation.

(2) The Bill has also been amended so as to protect fixed property acquired by Asiatic companies up to 1st March 1930, which are not protected by section 2 of Act 37 of 1919. This will have the effect of saving many Indian properties which, though not acquired in contravention of the letter of the Act of 1919, were acquired contrary to its spirit.

(3) Local bodies, whom clause 10 of the Bill required to refuse certificates of fitness to an Asiatic to trade on the ground that the applicant may not lawfully carry on business on the premises for which the licence is sought, shall have to treat a certificate issued by a competent Government officer to the effect that any land has been withdrawn from the restrictive provisions of sections 130 and 131 of the Gold Law as sufficient proof that a coloured person may lawfully trade on such land. As it is proposed to maintain hereafter a register of all lands in proclaimed areas where Asiatic occupation is permitted, such a provision should prove a valuable safeguard to the Indian community.

7. As against these important concessions, it has to be recognised that the recommendations of the Indian Delegation that areas like Springs on de-proclaimed land, to which the restrictions of clauses 130 and 131 do not at present apply, should not be made subject to them, and that leases for ten years or more should not be treated as fixed property, have not been accepted. On the balance, however, the amendments which, subject to ratification by the Union Parliament, have been made in the Bill represent a substantial advance on the original Bill.

8. I must apologise to the House for the length of the statement. I have endeavoured to make it as brief as is compatible with clarity. Government had hoped that it would be possible to make the announcement earlier, but this was found impossible as the results of the Conference have to be published in both countries simultaneously, and the Union Parliament re-assembles only to-day after the Easter recess. Government trust, however, that keeping in view the difficulties inherent in the problem, and after consideration of the statement which has been made to-day, Honourable Members will feel satisfied with the results achieved. (Applause.)

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS
7th SEPTEMBER 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I am in a way glad that this important, interesting, but delicate subject has been discussed on the floor of this House and opinions expressed more or less stating the same views which have found expression in the public press already. I am glad because our Legislatures are the proper places where national sentiment ought to find expression. (Hear, hear.) In a way I am not glad, because the adjournment motion debate is not as satisfactory a means of discussion as other forms of motions. I have found speaker after speaker trying to make very important points, but on account of the limitation of time finding it difficult to do so. I also know that many people in different parts of the House would have liked to take part in the debate and give expression to their deep feelings and sentiments which they entertain on this extremely important subject, the importance of which to others may not appear to be as great as it does to us Indians.

I think it would be best if I were, in the short time at my disposal, to make sure that the problem is put before the House in its various aspects and then state what I have understood the House to hold on those points, and then I will try to indicate to what extent I find myself in agreement and what it is the Government, I understand, would be prepared to do. The first point is that we are dealing only with dominion nationals. We are not dealing with the United Kingdom nationals in this case. The second is that dominion nationals can be divided under three heads: first, those who are already living in India, secondly. those who, after the passing of the Reform Act, come into India; and, thirdly, those who, having come to India, stay there. What are the rights of these three sorts of dominion nationals at present, and what rights does the Indian Legislature possess with reference to them? The second point which I think it is as well to mention and clarify is, what are the particular points that are involved in this particular problem — firstly holding of office about which a good deal has already been said; secondly, practising of trade, profession or calling — that is up till now not guaranteed by a statutory provision, but is based on what one might call the constitutional convention, good sense or practice. Besides these two, there are other rights which have been described in the Secretary of State's memorandum as commercial rights, *e g.*, of making companies, and so on: and, fourthly, the question of entry into India. As regards the third, that is to say, commercial rights, those again are not involved in this particular problem, because the Secretary of State has made it absolutely clear that in connection with that particular department or section of business, the dominion nationals do not occupy any guaranteed position,— they have to establish their position by negotiation with India. Therefore, we are left with the three — holding of office, practising trade, profession or calling, and lastly the question of entry. As regards the entry into India, India possesses at present the right to forbid entry, in other

words the Indian Legislature's right to legislate on the question of entry, is in existence, and the Secretary of State does not propose that it should in any way be reduced or interfered with, so that goes out.

Then comes the question of the dominion nationals already in India, and those who will come into India after they have been allowed to enter. At present the Indian Legislature possesses the right to legislate in a spirit of reciprocity discriminating against them, which means that in case spirit of reciprocity discriminating against them, which means that in case any particular dominion exercised its right of discrimination against Indians, it would be open to the Indian Legislature to reciprocate. The Indian Legislature at present possesses that right. A cursory study of the memorandum leads one to believe that, under the proposals of the memorandum, that right will be either taken away or so modified as not to be as valuable or as effective as it is at present. When it is once asserted that the dominion nationals, settled in India either already or going to settle in the future, have a right to practise a trade, profession or calling, then either the Indian Legislature should directly have the right to say that under such and such circumstances it can deprive them of that right or there should be some device which will have the same effect. The Secretary of State's memorandum, so far as one can judge, does not give the direct right, but gives an indirect device to have the same effect. Therefore, some Honourable Members hold the view that this indirect device in the first place may not be effective at all, and in the second place, why have recourse to this indirect device when direct legislation on reciprocal basis can be resorted to without doing any violence to any principle, and in fact, as a necessary corollary to the principle of reciprocity which runs through all these proposals. I have been very much struck by the strong feeling expressed by every speaker saying, for good or ill, we stand by the principle of reciprocity. There are Indian public men who feel that, in

the case of a country like India, reciprocity is not the very best thing they would resort to if they had their own way, but most of them have today reconciled themselves to it. But I doubt very much whether there are any who are prepared to go beyond that. The strength of feeling on this point, — that is to say, while Indian public men are prepared to stand by reciprocity and all that follows from it, they are not prepared to go beyond it, — would certainly indicate that the proposals have to be reconsidered to see whether the principle of reciprocity cannot be given effect to and whether there is anything to be gained by departing from it in order to have resort to another method of achieving the same object. (Cheers.)

Having mentioned this question of the practice of trade, profession or calling, a point on which I take it we are all agreed, I come to the second point on which I understand most of the speakers have laid very great stress, and that is the point of holding office. I am sure, the historical research done by some of the Honourable Members, and undoubtedly also by some of the valued organs of public press in India, will extract its meed of praise from the people across the seas. They will realise that what appears on the surface is not always the reality when subjected to a searching examination by people who are getting as acute as anybody else in this world. (Laughter.) And, after all, whether historical research were to bring out this point or not, I think Honourable Members are perfectly justified in taking up the position — why continue to give this privilege to the dominion nationals in the year 1933, because it was given to them in 1833, when in 1833, the discrimination against Indians had not been brought to light? (Cheers.) I think Secretary of State in his statement has made an excellent point when he said that India is likely to gain by placing an example of liberal treatment of the dominion nationals in order to show to them what civilisation demands. (Laughter.) I am afraid Honourable Members opposite have not understood what

I meant, probably because I have not been able to express myself clearly. (Laughter.)

Sir for three or four years I have been dealing with this extremely difficult problem of the Indians overseas. I have had the privilege of talking to the Prime Minister and the Ministers of one of the dominions and other extremely important people, and they invariably assured me of the legitimacy of the demands of Indians claiming ordinary human rights.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS
27th MARCH, 1935

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I am most grateful to Mr. Satyamurti for his adjournment motion. It has afforded me an opportunity to come to this House, in the first place, to congratulate the new House, and in the second place, to make a few observations on the floor of this House before I leave my present appointment in the Government of India. So, my present speech is one of welcome to the new Members of the House.

Mr. M. S. Aney: And a farewell.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: And a farewell speech so far as I am myself concerned.

Five years ago, when I took up this appointment, I had set an ideal to myself. I said to myself that the question Indians overseas is an extraordinarily difficult one no doubt, but at the same time, a most interesting one, and it shall be my business to act in a manner which would be in accord with the Indian opinion, and at all events, Indian opinion as expressed in the Central Legislature, I knew that there was possibly some difficulty, as there were occasions when the view that was taken by a Government member

was misunderstood by public leaders, and there were times when the views taken by public leaders were not fully appreciated by the Member in charge. I made it my business to see that I was in contact with all the Indian leaders who took keen interest in the matter of Indians overseas. I was, I am in a position to say, most fortunate in that respect, as I had the privilege of being instructed as well as supported by the Leader of the Congress who in probably the best informed Indian on all questions concerning Indians in South Africa. I had his guidance as well as his support in the matter of the Indian delegation which I had the privilege of taking to South Africa in 1931. An *ex*-President of the Congress, I had the privilege of having as one of the members of the delegation. I had also the privilege of having direct touch with experts in the matter of Indians overseas like the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri. I had the privilege of being in direct touch with the great Indian People' Association in Bombay which done a great deal of good work in this matter. I was equally fortunate with the Indian press. The Indian nationalist press has invariably taken a strong line in this connection and given us their full support. Foremost among those papers is the *Hindu* from Madras, whose well-informed criticism and very well-conceived leaders on many questions have been of great help to us. I was in fortunate position of feeling that what I was doing has the Indian support behind it; and further that I was not in any way departing from the Indian views on the various subjects that came up from time to time for decision and with which I had to deal. Thus, I was able in a few cases to achieve very minor successes. These successes really are very minor and dwindle into insignificance when one thinks of the numerous failures that one has come against. There is nothing to be proud of in the line of achievement. The utmost one could say is that I have not lost very much ground, It would be wrong on my part to say that during my term any great advance has been made, because none has been made. It would be equally wrong if I were to say

that I had any difficulty in doing my best with the British Government in the matter of my colleagues or the Viceroy. They have invariably supported every effort made to improve the condition of Indians overseas. We have acted like one team and the Viceroy has been the strongest of us in these matters. (Applause.) I have, Sir, to pay my tribute of gratitude to all the Indian leaders, including the leaders of the Congress for the support they have given. But for their support, I do not think I would have had much heart even to put up such a hopeless struggle. We must remember that the struggle is more or less a hopeless one. We must not run away with the idea that we are united and there is no difficulty in the way of our achieving our desire. Nothing of the kind. There is a conflict of interest. We must not forget that India is a part of Asia. We must not forget that Asia is not Europe. Again we must not forget that even Asiatics, who are not in our position do not have a look in, in places which are worth going to. So Indians must remember their two fold disability, firstly they are Asiatics. Secondly, they are situated as they are. Remembering these two disabilities, there is nothing that an Indian Member of Government or for the matter of that a European Member of Government would not be prepared to do that any one of you would like to do. Therefore, Sir, it is a matter of gratification to me to see, on the eve of my retirement, that on this point, not only there is a tacit understanding that the policy of the Government of India is the Indian policy but there has been, through the good offices of Mr. Satyamurti, an opportunity for a public declaration, on the floor of this House, to that effect. I trust that this significant fact will have some value. It may add a little more strength to the representation which will issue from the Government of India. Let us hope it will, but if it does not by any chance, the struggle cannot be given up. It has to be fought. It has to be continued. (Applause.) It will never do to lose heart. Nobody, who believes in the future, can afford to lose heart. We believe that there is a future. If we begin to believe that there is no future, there

would be no fun in my standing here or your sitting there. I trust that in a matter which is so dear to our hearts we should realise that unless we are in course of time able to create a certain amount of sympathy in the minds of Britishers in Britain and possibly a few in the Dominions and in the Colonies, the difficult task of persuading people in authority to take even a fairly just view of Indian claims is very remote indeed. When I mention the matter of the support that the Viceroy gives to our representation, I ought also to have mentioned that much as we may disagree with the Secretary of State in many matters, in matters relating to Indians overseas, he has invariably assured us that he has done his very best with his colleague, the Colonial Sectary, in pressing our representations on him. However, we must be just to others if we want others to be just to us. The Secretary of State for the Colonies is not so much responsible to us as he is to his own constituents, the British Parliament. If there were responsible government here, the Member of the Government sitting here would think more of you sitting there than of people elsewhere.

Mr. M. A Jinnah: That is what we want.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Even when you do get it, question of Indians overseas is not settled.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: We must go to war on that.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: You will be require many Hitlers and many Mussolinis before you could even talk of war like that. So, that is rather remote, I am afraid.

An Honourable Member: We have not got one yet.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: You had better try to develop some by and by. That seems to be your only chance. To come back to my point, I was saying what is really wanted is a certain

amount of honourable propaganda enlisting the sympathies of people in Britain and elsewhere to take up the Indian case for a sympathetic hearing. Mr. Satyamurti shakes his head.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Nothing doing.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I am prepared to join issue with him. Britain is a very funny place.

An Honourable Member: Very.

The Honouable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: There may be people who are dead against you, but you will always find some people who are with you.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Cranks.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I assure you that a crank is not a man to be despised. Many great things can be achieved through cranks. I have never despised cranks, and I have always solicited the co-operation even of cranks. From small beginnings, you can achieve a successful organisation but that has got to be done. Anyhow that is my humble view and I would be the last person to profess to dictate the soundness of that view to people who have much more experience; sitting opposite than myself. However, that is a view which I have always entertained and I have thought it a great misfortune that one little Congress organisation, that existed in London for extraineous reasons, had to be closed down. It may be found necessary to revive it. Those who are in authority will decide that point. In conclusion, I wish to thank every part of the House for the appreciation they have expressed of the Government policy, and inasmuch as my name has been associated with it, I very sincerely tender my gratitude to everybody. (Applause.)

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Mr. President, the presence of the Honourable Member for Education, Heath and Lands in

this House, for the first time after we entered it, has been significant, not only because of the physical addition to the Treasury Bench, but also because of a new atmosphere which he seems to have brought with him. We have been sitting here for the last nine weeks, and, during the whole of that time, we have had nothing but jibes, sneers, and any amount of contempt thrown on our devoted heads, for all our labours on behalf of our countrymen. It is therefore, some solace to our lacerated souls that there is at least one Member of the Treasury Bench who can appreciate our point of view and, whether he agrees with us or not, can recognize that we are patriotic people. Legitimate rights should not be denied to Indians, which were perfectly sound and that if only they were the citizens of the dominion, there would be no difficulty at all about it, but it was the benighted masses who would not appreciate the righteousness of the Indian cause. And when I have in all my simplicity asked them. How can we get them to understand it?", I have been invariably told that we must wait and wait till the conscience of the civilised world has grown strong enough (Laughter) to force the benighted masses of the dominions to see the wickedness of their actions. (*An Honourable Member*: " A very gloomy picture.") Certainly not, far from it. India has waited for very nearly 50 years or more in the case of South Africa and though the position in practice in many matters is ever so much better than it has been in the past, still little progress is made in vital matters. Therefore, though I do not in any way feel pessimistic about the future, I do feel that we are so poorly equipped with arms in this war, that we can hardly afford to give away any of them. I am sure, the points made by the Honourable Members are strong, and they are the points with which we on this side not only sympathise, but also agree with them. (Cheers.) It has been very rightly pointed out by a speaker opposite, — I think it was my Honourable friend, the Diwan Bahadur, — that the Indian policy on this point is the national policy.

DELEGATIONS TO IMPERIAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS 19TH MARCH, 1934.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Khan Sir Fazl-i-Hussain (Educational, Health and Lands Member): Sir, I find lit extremely difficult to make a speech on this subject this afternoon after hearing the speeches that have been made. The Honourable the mover of this Resolution made a speech of which by far the largest part was such as to be endorse something like 80 per cent. of his observations. Practically it came to this that he was moving this Resolution because he had picked upon this hardy annual out of his last year's bundle. Had he thought about it before sending it in, he would have modified it in order to accord with the speech that he has made in support of it. I thought to myself, "Better late than never"; he has thought the matter and realized the difficulties of the situation, and

we were very nearly in agreement with each other. Then came two speeches towards the end of this debate which, I much regret to say, contained an element of bitterness. I would not have minded it, because every one is entitled to his own way of putting forward his own views but for the fact that they appear to be based entirely on ignorance of facts. Both the last speakers have said,

"Why was India made a member of the Assembly of the League of Nations? Just to filch India out of money, just to get an additional vote for England, and yet they never appoint an Indian leader. They.do not trust him".

Now, Sir, if it were a fact that Indians never led the delegation to the League of Nations, there would he some justification for those observations. But the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1929 was led by an Indian, my predecessor in this office. In 1930, the

next year, it was again led by an Indian. In 1931, the third year, it was again led by an Indian. In 1932, it was again led by an Indian, and last year, in 1933, it was again led by an Indian who sat in my place two years ago — I mean Sir Brojendra Mitter. Here we are — 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933,— for five years running the Indian delegation to the League of Nations has been led by Indians, and here are two Honourable Members getting up and making all sorts of insinuations and all sorts of speeches and saying,

"Here we are; we pass this Resolution. This is a hardy annual. The object is to take away India's money and take it to Geneva. It is also to have the Indian vote. But they do not trust Indians".

Surely, Sir, one expects an Honourable Member of this House to show a little more knowledge of the affairs of his own country and the delegation on which the House has been insisting that it should be represented. In accordance with the wishes of the House, as a rule a seat has been found for a Member of this House. As regards the point that it should be a predominantly Indian delegation, last year's delegation to the League of Nations was composed as follows: Leader, Sir B.L. Mitter; Members, Sahibzada Abdus Samad Khan, Sir Hormusji Maneckji Mehta and Sir Denys Bray. Which one of these does the Honourable mover or any of his supporters object to? Every one of them falls within the definition of an "Indian " whichever way you look at it. Here was Sir Denys Bray. He was our Foreign Secretary for a long time. No Indian has been a Foreign Secretary. We did want a man with some knowledge of foreign affairs. What is more natural than that he should go to Geneva and save India the expense of travelling from India there and his allowances and so on? What one wants is fair play in debate and the forming of opinions on the basis of facts. Differences of opinion there must be. Why not? But wrong facts — not facts; but absolutely fictitious things and to call them facts,

and on the basis of those fictitious things, to build up an argument and then make such insinuations — one would ordinarily feel really very humiliated either to be victimized like this or to be a colleague of those who are guilty of it. Not that I personally feel very much. Any Honourable Member may say anything to me or to the Government. That does not matter. It is neither here nor there. But I do appeal, Sir, to the House — a certain amount of regard for facts is not too much to expect. I was very grateful to one of the Honourable Members who tried to bring clear thinking into the debate. He very rightly said,

"What are the problems? What are the points involved in this controversy?"

He made it easy for me to try once more to place the real issues before the House. As the Honourable Sir Homi Mehta has made two points clear, I will not repeat them. I will just add one more point to the points that he made. It is this. The Honourable Member was speaking of India's views, India's sentiments, India's culture. What does "India" mean? who is going to be represented at the Conference? It is not Germany that is represented; it is not France that is represented. It is the Government of Germany and the Government of France and the Government of England that are represented, and it is the Government of India that is represented, and not India, of which each member, as he speaks, has his own picture. In the Conference, what the leader and the delegates have to express are not the views of their own particular clique or party, not their own chamber of commerce or their own *sabha* or their own *anjuman*. It is the brief that the Government of India have given to them. It is the brief that the Government of India has briefed them with. If I am right in that contention then really and truly the whole thing lies in the preparation of that brief. It cannot but be the duty as well as the privilege of the Government to prepare it and give it to their representatives. If that is so,

the question of the leader being a non-Indian or a Britisher giving away India's rights does not arise to the extent that the Honourable Member made us believe. No doubt the presentation of that case lucidly and forcibly, in a way to win rather than to alienate support, is the function of the leader and the function of the representatives of the Government. Therefore for your leader and other members of the delegation the best possible men should be secured. But let it not be forgotten that the views to be expressed are the views of the Government of India and they have been given to the delegation in writing and they must adhere to them. Any one who is not prepared to do that cannot accept the leadership and cannot be a representative of India at that particular conference. Then, Sir, as pointed out by the Honourable Sir Homi Mehta, it is a fact that the Secretary of State is the head of the administration of the Government of India, and therefore, if there is an international conference at which he is present, no authority can supersede him and say we must have an Indian. And what for? If he lays down the law, you cannot go and say something different. What you have to say is that what is being said is in the best interests of India. Whether in the record of a gramophone it is one singer or the other, still the song is the same, though no doubt the voice of the singer makes some difference. Therefore, what is left of the Resolution? Only this, that if in these international conferences the Indian delegation is led by an Indian and is composed of a majority of Indians, the prestige of India is enhanced thereby; and if the leader is a non-Indian and the delegation is predominantly non-Indian, the impression gets abroad that Indians are not up to much, had they been they would have been well represented on that delegation. Well, that is a very natural sentiment with which no one can find fault, and it is a sentiment which has ever been present to the mind not only of the Government of India but also of the Secretary of State. I mean to say that is a point on which we are not at issue. But the trouble comes in when you come out with

your hardy annual to the amendment or revising of which you pay no attention. You hear a debate of two or three hours every year and you treat it as if it did not exist. If you took any notice of it, this wretched annual, it might have attained new youth and vigour and it would probably have found favour with a very large section of the House. But you bring it along dressed in the same old rags, and it has been so fired at that there is hardly a shred of decent clothing left on it. It is in a horrible way. My advice is, leave it alone and get on to something more profitable than that.

Well, we were talking about imperial conferences. Surely Honourable Members are not unaware of the fact that the last Imperial Conference of 1930 had, beside the Secretary of State, two Indians, one the Maharaja of Bikaner and the other one who was Leader of this House for a long time, the late Sir Muhammad Shafi. There again, with these facts before you, where is the question of amending the Resolution and saying that delegations should be predominantly Indian. Well, wherever it is possible they are already predominantly Indian. In this case, barring the Secretary of State it was entirely Indian. There may be cases where a very technical matter has to be considered at a conference, say, the matter of opium. Well, you do not send to an Opium Conference a man who talks of ideals and culture, and so on, unless it is only after taking opium that he can talk like that. It is not Indian culture but the cultivation of poppies that you have to discuss. So, you have to bear in mind the subject-matter of the Conference and not all these other things which are very interesting in their own way but which are not relevant.

Sir, I was very much impressed by what was said by the Honourable Mr.Henderson as well as by Sri Kurma Reddi. We must remember that it is no use our echoing the catchwords of third class political platforms, and urge ill-conceived propositions. We must consider each proposal with reference to present-day conditions. Is it

wise today to bring in a Resolution which may reasonably lead people to believe that it is an attempt at a racial bar being raised against non-Indians. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that the Honourable the mover has no such intention. I have no doubt at all in my mind on that subject. But the Resolution as it stands can reasonably be interpreted to be a racial one. In fact it is so easily and naturally interpreted to be a racial one that the Honourable the mover had to protest more than once that it was not racial. But it is no use protesting. Protesting cannot make a Resolution different from what it is, however much you may wish it to be. In view of that fact it would perhaps be as well if the Honourable the mover were not only to say that it is not racial but to throw it away, since it is liable to be misunderstood in such a way.

I must now, Sir, conclude with the observation that I believe that the views of the House as a whole on this subject are as follows. The Government of India should choose the best men possible for serving on imperial and international conferences to represent the Government of India. Where Indians are available no doubt Government would select them, but if a suitable man is a non-Indian that should not be a ground for not selecting him. That is a view which seems to me quite sound and sensible. What I am very much concerned with, representing Government as I do, is that no Government can afford to tie its hands in the matter of nominating members of its delegation. The variety of subjects for these conferences is so great that it is impossible to predicate any particular percentage or any particular proportion. We may be sending only one man and it may happen that you cannot send a good technical man except a Britisher, or it may be that there is a very good man and the subject is such that you cannot send a Britisher and you must send an Indian. Why not? Seeing that lately the composition of Indian delegations to various conferences has been such as to be entirely or predominantly Indian on general subjects, I say there is no justifi-

cation for the subject being mooted again and again in this Council, and therefore seeing the history of the case it is for the Honourable the mover of this Resolution to make up his mind whether in the light of all the facts disclosed during the course of the debate it is not advisable for him to withdraw his Resolution. As to what will happen to the debate, he may be rest assured that as the debate is on a subject which concerns the Secretary of State, because he is the head of the Indian administration and is responsible to the British Parliament for the Government of India, it will in due course be forwarded to him.

The Resolution, without division, was withdrawn.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS: POLICY OF REPRESSION LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS 5th FEBRUARY, 1931

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I beg the indulgence of the House for intervening at this stage of the debate, not with a view to meet the charges as to whether the police in a particular place, in a particular province, acted harshly, or in excess of their duties, not with a view either to justify or to explain the conduct of the particular individuals in particular incidents, because I consider such matters are matters of detail with which I have not the slightest doubt the local Legislatures in the country are competent to deal, but to state what I venture to think is a matter of supreme importance. We here, Sir, are concerned with matters of general principles, matters of policy, matters which affect the welfare of India as a whole, and not to go into minor details, however important they may be, in view of the fact that these important matters of detail are within the jurisdiction of competent

bodies as representative as we are and perhaps more. I should not be understood, Sir, to relegate these matters of very great importance to an unimportant head. Far from it, I realise the importance of the matters to which reference has been made not only today, but on the day on which this discussion was first begun. I realise as well as any Member on the benches opposite that such incidents, whether they occur on account of some one's mistake or not, on account of confused thinking on the part of those who witness them, they have an effect prejudicial to the formation of that healthy public opinion which is the chief support of every civilised Government. Having made these preliminary observations, Sir, I wish, with your permission, just to sum up what has been the result of the debate hitherto. It has been said, and said very properly, that these particular incidents have affected people's minds to the prejudice of Government. It has been said that people at large do not approve of the way in which the police deal with these processions and the picketing. It has been said further that inasmuch as the Prime Minister has made the statement and His Excellency the Viceroy has already initiated a change of policy by the release of leaders, there is no reason why Government should not proceed further and release the people who have but followed the leaders who are thus released. There is a great deal of force in the position thus taken up. May I, Sir, with your permission and with the indulgence of the House take a birds' eye view of what has happened in this connection during the course of last year?

It must be within the memory of Honourable Members that less than a year ago this country was in a state of extreme confusion. Under the Statute which governs the existing Reforms an inquiry was being conducted whether this country was entitled to a further step of advance in the matter of Reforms or not. This country had to establish that it did deserve a step in advance and a big step. Opinions differed whether that step should

be a small one or a big one, or a very very big one indeed, with the result that there were three or four schools of thought which came into existence. There were the people who wanted independence; there were those who wanted Dominion Status; there were still others who wanted Dominion Status with safeguards; and there were still others whom people liked to call reactionaries, but who called themselves perhaps conservatives or people with large vested interests in the country. These four schools of thought existed, and every one of these four schools of thought wanted some reform or other. The Congress took up the task of carrying on political agitation in the interests of further reforms; and therefore every step taken by the Congress had the moral support of followers of each one of these four schools, with the result that a body of opinion came into being which, if it did not approve of every single act of the Congress in prosecution of their programme, at all events gave the Congress movement their moral support. That support was at the bottom of that great movement, the Congress movement; and it has had great results. I need not go into the details of this movement. I may at once proceed to the stage where we are today. The time arrived when the right of India to a great and big advance had to be determined by the British Parliament. Whatever I may say, and whatever my friends who are siting on the opposite benches and perhaps outside this Assembly may say, that our destinies are in our hands — and no doubt they are in our own hands — still, the determination of that step rests with the British Parliament; and no authority outside the British Parliament can determine the extent of that step. No one in India therefore can possibly take it upon himself to say that political agitation in furtherance of legitimate constitutional rights was not justified till the British Parliament had pronounced to what extent that step was going to be.

Now, Sir, I come to the stage where the Prime Minister, who is responsible to the British Parliament, actually

made a statement laying down what the policy with reference to Indian advance was going to be. He discussed that policy in the House of Commons, and thereby obtained, so to speak, the agreement of the British Parliament as to what the extent of that step in general terms was going to be. If I read aright public opinion in India that statement has received support from all schools of thought excepting the Congress, which institution has not yet expressed its definite opinion on it. If I am right so far, I trust I shall have the House with me in saying that thereby all political parties in India, except the Congress, do not wish to proceed with political agitation so called, at this stage. They feel that the stage for which they were working has been successfully reached and that the Prime Minister's announcement as to the extent of that step is, to them, satisfactory. Does the Congress realise that position? Has the Congress realised that really the achievement up to date has been the achievement of India, not of one political party in India? I am afraid there is some doubt on that point, but I am not surprised. All governments, all organizations, all the rulers of all organizations tend to forget that what has been the achievement of others is probably their own achievement. Here we find almost all newspapers, the whole of the public Press, expressing satisfaction at the Prime Minister's statement, excepting the extreme Congress papers. I hope I am not overstating the case. From my own province, the Punjab, comes the Tribune, which has always held pretty strong nationalist views. It wants the Prime Minister's statement to be taken as a good valuable basis of discussion. Coming to the United Provinces, the Leader is of course strongly for the statement obtained by the Indian delegates at the Round Table Conference. We find similarly in Madras, the *Hindu*....

An Honourable Member: What about Bengal?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: You must not be impatient. The *Hindu* of Madras

similarly supports the same idea. In Bombay not only the *Times of India* but also the *Indian Daily Mail* is in support of it. In Bengal....

An Honourable Member: The *Statesman*:

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: In Bengal is there any nationalist paper now of the type which used to exist thirty years ago?

An Honourable Member: The *Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Another Honourable Member: Question.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: There you are; nothing without in the least intending to cast the slightest slur on that great province which had been the leader of political thought in India at the birth of the Congress, I cannot say that it still leads when Congress has reached its manhood. Well, it comes to this: that barring a few papers of really very very strong views, views which I am afraid none of the Members of this House are likely to share....

An Honourable Member: What do they say about the release of prisoners?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I am coming to that; you cannot have all the points at the same time; that is the position, that all schools of thought are strongly in favour of treating the Prime Minister's statement as practically closing this struggle. I do not say that the struggle is all over, but the Prime Minister's statement has closed the first chapter of this struggle. If that is so, then the question arises, is it not our duty — and when I say "our" I am not talking on behalf of the Government; I am talking of the duty of this House and of every individual Member of this House — our duty individually as well as collectively, is it not our duty to make it absolutely clear to the Indian public including the

Congress, what we feel the position is today by virtue of the statement of the Prime Minister? That statement has concluded the first phase of the war for reforms. That statement has concluded that struggle, which was being conducted because nobody knew whether the British Parliament meant business or not. You will realise, Sir — I claim no credit either for me or for the Government of India for the matter of that — but I do claim credit for the British Parliament that they in their policy as to the extent of that step have gone further than the Government of India and further than any authority up till now.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur *cum* Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): What does Mr. Jinnah say?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: He is not returning to the Assembly, that is what the papers say.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Because probably he thinks that the Assembly is not a fit place now to come in.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: My Honourable friend is entirely mistaken; probably Mr. Jinnah thinks that India is for the present not a fit place to return to.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Including the Government of India, I suppose.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: He has no place in it. These remarks are, however, by the way.

But let us resume really the dispassionate consideration of a really serious position in the history of this country. As I was saying, a stage has been reached when the real

position as to the future of political advance in India has for the time being been determined. Again, mind you, I do not say that it has been determined for good or for ever. Certainly not. But the extent of this step in advance has for the time being been determined.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohailkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Will the Honourable Member advise the Government of India to stop the *lathi* charges that are being made indiscriminately all over the country, and especially in Madras where an adjournment motion was passed by the Council censuring the Government? That kind of thing should stop. The Honourable Member has wandered away from the subject without drawing the attention of the Government of India to and without making a statement on this fundamental question which is really creating a great deal of disturbance and ill feeling all over the country.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Very well, Sir. I will try to get on to the concluding part of my remarks. The problem seems to be extremely simple at this stage. Our next step having been settled, what are we really quarrelling about? In case the Congress feels that step is adequate, there will be nothing to quarrel about. There should be no continuance of either picketing or processions or any other demonstrations, and if that is so, there can be no *lathi* charges. I go further and say that all the repressive measures should cease to exist as soon as the need for them disappears. They disgrace the Statute-book, they disgrace it very much indeed, and I assure the Honourable Member opposite that no Member of Government, be he an Indian or be he a European, is proud of that achievement. Is he? I assure you that every English member of the Government feels no less than I or you do, that an Ordinance is a hateful thing. Do you think that the man who signs the ordinances is happy over it? To imagine that any one gloats over it is to

do us injustice, to ascribe to us feelings and sentiments which are not human. And I assure the Honourable Members that, whatever some of you in your anger may think, we are, after all, not so much worse than any of you. Sir, I think I may say that I along with my colleagues sitting on these Benches will not be backward in doing away with all these measures which are as hateful to us as to you as soon as the necessity for them disappears. No one is more anxious to see the day when the necessity for these measures will disappear.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Who is to be the judge of the necessity?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: As to who is to be the judge, Sir, I think one may easily agree. Sir, I request you to be the judge, and failing you, your Deputy President. Here I have in my hand a beautiful comment as to Mr. Chetty having been guilty of "not chivalrous conduct in not submitting to the wishes of the lady picketers who wanted him not to come here in order to preside over this Assembly". This *"peaceful"* picketing, Sir, is described by this paper as necessitating that every one who is the subject of that picketing should bow to it. It says this: "Mr. Chetty had to invite those very minions of law and order whose policy he condemns to arrest as many as 13 volunteers from his house to enable him to preside over the Legislative Assembly". It goes on further and says: "My. Chetty had done every thing to show his contempt for Indian womanhood and scant consideration for that noble virtue called chivalry". Sir, is that peaceful picketing? Who is to be the judge of it? Mr. Chetty or some Member of this House who have not been worried by this peaceful picketing? I, Sir, venture to say, it pains me to say, I assure you it pains me to say that to drag in the womanhood of India and the child mind of India into this struggle is perhaps a very thin nail in the coffin of

the future of our ideals (*An Honourable Member* from the Nationalist Benches: "Question"), and as has been said, during this debate as effective a nail as a *lathi* blow is on an innocent man. It is a great pity that such sentiments should be expressed when an extremely important subject is under consideration. But let us be under no delusion. To conclude, Sir, let us not now think of all these struggles and strifes. Really the time has come to give up all such notions of critical examination of the past. There may have been wrongs, probably, on either side. Is it not time now to think more of to-day and tomorrow than of yesterday? I assure you that those who are anxious to do all they can to promote the Prime Minister's Ideal of future advance will be ready to do everything that lies in their power to bring all these incidents to a close, and start a new era wherein all schools of thought would be ready to take their legitimate share. I trust and hope that every effort will be made by every public spirited Indian in this House and outside this House to make it absolutely plain to the Congress that they have had their moral support all along but henceforth if they persist in their conduct of what they call peaceful picketing and innocent processions, inviting the authorities to intervene in order to reduce and counteract the intimidation which lies behind them, intimidation of peaceful men pursuing their vocations, or of children who are going to their schools and thereby affecting prejudicially the mind of the youth of the country, they will not have any support whatsoever from them and that India wants peace and a start on the future reforms in a good and quiet atmosphere and those who stand in the way of the creation of that atmosphere in India will be held responsible. (Applause.)

REPRESENTATION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS 8th MARCH, 1933

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Now, Sir, coming to this particular Resolution, I fully appreciate the desire of this House to see that the representation of India at any future meetings convened with the object of framing India's constitution should be of the best and I have no doubt to that extent it is but natural that every institution in the country should feel that they have to contribute a fair amount to the personnel of the Committee which may eventually be invited by the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament. But I trust the Honourable Members will agree with me that the Joint Committee in devising means to secure the best Indian representation could not really concentrate their minds on what representation should go to our House, what representation should go to the Assembly and what representation should go to the local Legislatures, and so on, because that would not be the right way to set about it. Then there may be interests or at all events schools of thought which are outside this House. One of the Honourable Members said if Government is to select a representative of this House, they should select a Nationalist. Well, Sir, if by any chance the Joint Committee entrusted the work of selection of a Nationalist to represent the Council of State, to my humble self, I very much doubt whether I would be prepared to undertake that onerous duty. Even if I took time to think over the matter — whether I would be able to discharge that onerous duty, and took all the Members of this House into my confidence, do you think I would get much help out of my colleagues to find out the best Nationalist to represent this House? I doubt very much. Some Honourable Members may be self-sacrificing enough to say that they want the

best Nationalist who in the ordinary parlance has sacrificed his all to do what that school of thought imagines is serving the country. I am afraid I and most of my colleagues would stand a very poor chance of being selected. There are many more difficulties in the way. The task of selection is by no means easy. Still I trust when Members think deeply over these particulars, they will realise that it is one thing to desire a suitable representation and another thing to suggest a way in which the selection could possibly give satisfaction to all. I have seldom found any selection do that, even when it is a selection of the President of the National Congress by the Congress Committee.

Now, Sir, this Resolution I should very much have liked to proceed to accept, but it really is — and I suppose as a Resolution of this House it had to be — a recommendation to the Governor General in Council. Well, the Governor General in Council is not in the picture at all. It is true that when the Joint Select Committee desires a selection or suggestion of Indian names for the purpose, they could not very well obtain it without getting themselves into touch with the authorities here. But that will be entirely in personal relationship with the Governor General and not with the Governor General in Council. I trust the Honourable Members have realised the distinction between the two. So far as the Governor General in Council is concerned, I hope the Honourable Members will take it from me that he is in no way in the picture, and as a matter of fact this idea was expressed many times over in the other House, namely, that this is not a matter in which the Government of India is concerned or the Governor General in Council has a hand. Invitations to Indian representatives to confer with the Joint Select Committee of Parliament to examine the proposals of His Majesty's Government no doubt will be issued by the Committee itself, and as such, you will realise that the Governor General in Council is not primarily responsible for the selection of Members of the Indian Legislature.

The Honourable Mr. G. A. Natesan: Primarily?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: His Excellency, in his address to the Members of the Legislative Assembly on the 1st February, 1933, said:

> "The procedure Parliament will follow, once the White Paper has been presented, is of course a matter for Parliament itself to decide. But I have no doubt that the Secretary of State will shortly make clear the exact intentions of His Majesty's Government as regards the lines of future procedure and I am confident that places will be found for some representatives of the Indian Legislature among the persons to be called into consultation with the Joint Select Committee."

What His Excellency the Governor General has said ought to satisfy any fair-minded person. To add to it; certainly I consider it unfair on the part of my Honourable colleagues to expect me to do. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 22nd of February, the Secretary of State reiterated the above statement in the following terms:

> "Government's proposals would in a few weeks' time be circulated as a White Paper which would go to Select Committee empowered to confer with them. The Select Committee would be master of its own procedure and be able to present its own report".

REPORT OF JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS 14th FEBRUARY, 1935

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Members opposite have more than once said that the proposed reforms, what good are they? We would much rather stay where we are than make this advance. I think most of the Members opposite, with two exceptions,

held that view. The exceptions were the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna, who said he did not agree, and I think perhaps, if I am not mistaken, the Honourable Lala Jagdish Prasad also did not think as his leader did. However, it is immaterial whether there were one or two. The fact remains that the Progressive Party took up the attitude that the present constitution is bad, very bad, but still we would work along on this constitution in preference to what is being offered to us in the shape of a Bill framed on the basis of the Joint Committee's Report. Now, this was an expression of opinion by speakers some of them distinguished for their legal knowledge, their business ability, political experience and so on. May I venture to take them back to the year 1920? I think most of them were at that time in public life. Perhaps two of them were too young then. I remember the events that took place then. In 1920, the year after the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, the constitution which the Progressive Party now wish to stand by and to follow was the constitution which India considered so bad that they boycotted the elections and refused to come into the legislatures. Is that the constitution which after 14 years' experience has become so good as to be better than the one which is being offered?

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): That was the Congress Party that boycotted and not we.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: The Leader of the Opposition says that the people who did these things were the benighted Congress Party, and that he and his friends did not agree with them, and that they thought that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was really good. Now, may I remind him of the description in the public press, in particular, the national press, of the people who came into the Councils, that they were traitors to the country, that they were reactionaries,

etc. I do not think that in the dictionary of wicked words there was any expression that the Congress press or the Nationalist press did not use in condemning the constitution which after 14 years has been found by the Progressive Party to be so good that they would stick to it rather than accept the new reforms. That shows, Sir, how our ideas change, or how lapses of memory make people take up positions which if they had cooly and calmly deliberated over the matter, they would not uphold.

This House, so touchy on points of procedure and about its own dignity and privileges, I have no doubt will appreciate the desire of the Mother of Parliament to have the same feelings which you have inherited. So, remembering that I have nothing further to add to these two statements, what I am prepared to say is this, that a very casual glance at what has happened in the past ought to be a reminder to the Honourable Members that they should not indulge in what is called in Urdu "Kufran-i-Namat" which means —

The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam: We remember the last Round Table Conference.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: "lack of appreciation of good fortune". What I mean is — that an elected Member of this House was in the first Round Table Conference, also in the second. There was your present President in the second Round Table Conference; also a few elected Members whom I see seated in the House, and it would appear, Sir, that those who were not at the time Members of this House, went to the Round Table Conference and returned and found constituencies which would send them to this House thinking that they were statesmanlike people who sought to be sent up. I think Honourable Members will find that one of them, now sitting in this House, Sir Edward Benthall, went to the second Round Table Conference and has since been found as the right person to sit with us. I

have mentioned the names of five persons who attended the first and second Round Table Conferences. That is not all Members who adorned this House in the past — the mere fact that they were not sitting then, last year or the year before does not in any way reduce the strength of my argument — those who have sat in this House or who are sitting in this House, or, if I may add to it, will sit in this House in the future have all found places at the Round Table Conference. Among those who sat in the past in this House is the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri. Could any one say that a more self-sacrificing patriot could have been nominated to the Conference? Then we have Srijut Chandra Barooah. It has been said, "It is all very well; these are the people who sat in the first and second Round Table Conference. What about the third?" Again and again, I am asked, "What about the third?" Well, what about the third? Is it alleged, Sir, that no one who was a Member of this Council was at the third Round Table Conference? Is that the allegation? If it is, then I must say that the memories of the Honourable Members sitting opposite are much shorter than one can expect them to be even in political life. Was not Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan a Member of this House?

Now, Sir, as to the future, I am sure the Honourable Members will agree with me that it is not right to make divisions and sub-divisions and sub-divisions. His Excellency has promised that the Central Legislature will find representation on this occasion. Let us hope and trust that the choice falls on one of us in this House. I cannot conceive that any Indian politician keeping before his eye the condemnation of the Government of India Act of 1919 framed on the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, could have the tenenoty to say today that it is better than what is being offered. What is the position? If the Progressive Party is right that what is being offered is worse than what we have got, and the Congress Party said in 1920 that what was being offered by the Act of 1919 was worse than

what they had got, you notice where we reach. We reach the pre-reform period of 1919, where in many provinces there were no Councils, no legislatures to speak of, and we get on to the beautiful days of one Lieutenant-Governor or Governor, with the help of a secretary, economically but autocratically administering the province. We can push things to an absurdity. But whatever the point of view may be, let us remember the facts. The facts are well within the memory of every man. It is so ridiculous to go on from stage to stage saying, "Really, we do not want any advance. We have never wanted". Let me not be tempted to labour the point any more.

Next, I think it would be best if I tell the Council what I am not going to do, and then state what I do wish to emphasize. I do not think I am called upon to enter upon a discussion in detail. Many points have been taken by the Honourable Members opposite, which are good points. There are others which are weak, there are some points which can be perfectly made and I believe convincingly made. There are others in which we may not be able to convince the Honourable Members who made them. But is this the stage to enter into a controversy on points of detail? We have reached now, in February, 1935, after seven or eight years, the stage where the reforms under discussion have given us this Bill, the second reading of which has been finished, which Bill is in the Committee stage now in the House of Commons, which Bill we may assume with minor changes is likely to be passed. It will serve no useful purpose to begin to re-discuss the different points in that Bill, which have been under discussion for the last three or four years. No good at all. What then do I propose to do? In the next few minutes that I propose to address the House, I will try to analyse the views expressed in the House in the hope of concentrating the attention of Honourable Members to points of importance. We have amongst us those who feel that the Report is not all that India expected; others think that it is not all that

India deserved; there are others who think that the Report is so bad that it is unacceptable to them; then we come to the fourth group who say that it is a Report which they cannot but reject. The first class consists of those who think that they have not got what they expected; the second class say that they have not got what they deserved; the third class say that what is being given is unacceptable, and the fourth are the rejectionists. There is a slight difference between the unacceptablers and the rejectionists. The unacceptablers are a little milder than the rejectionists. Is that not so? Well, what does it matter whether you belong to the one class or the other? Here is this Report and here is this Bill. You do not claim that you have the authority to legislate. You do not deny that as a subordinate Legislature, and with your Government, the Government of India, as a subordinate Government, they are in a position of taking both their legislation and their orders from the authorities in England.

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das: Then why debate?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: A very natural question. If the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition has the decision of a matter in his own hands in his Party, does he deny the members of his Party the right to discuss? Does he deny the right to England to hear our views before coming to a decision? He has a right to say, "No, I will not express any opinion" but he cannot deny the right of the supreme authority to call for discussion in case any of us do wish to discuss, and is that authority not justified in asking for a discussion when we find that only two of the elected Members were able, I have no doubt with the exercise of considerable self-control, not to speak. I think, a little bit uncalled for.

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das: Legislation on the India Bill is proceeding in England without Parliament knowing our views.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: There again the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition is not well informed. He does not know that there are agencies which flash his views and my views and other peoples' views within a few hours of their being uttered here, just as we get possessed of what was said in the House of Commons within a few hours of the utterances there. Let him not be under any misapprehension on that point. Our point of view may not agree with their point of view, but that they do not know our point of view is not correct. As a matter of fact, on the whole perhaps it might have been good for India if the means of communications were not so good as they are.

The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): May we know to which group, out of the four mentioned, the Government of India belong?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Will it help him to decide as to how to vote if this information were given?

The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam: It may, if we find that we are in the same boat.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I do not know whether it is always wise to be in the same boat, considering that accidents are not infrequent in boating. However, to proceed.

These are the four categories to which various people who have given expression to their views belong. But I want you, Sir, to permit me to go a little further in my analysis. After all does it matter very much what our views are as to the Report and as to the proposed constitution, considering that the legislation is already under discussion in the House of Commons, considering also that the view that the present position is better than that proposed and therefore we would rather stay where we are, is not a view

that can be accepted. It is not the genuine view of the people who gave expression to it.

The Honourable Mr. P. N. Sapru (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): It is my genuine feeling and the feeling of the Liberal group at least.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: I am glad you have added the word "feeling". Feeling is one thing and view is quite a different thing.

The Honourable Mr. P. N. Sapru: Sir, it is a definite view and conviction based on a study of the Report.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: Now that is exactly what I thought a young man would say. It is so difficult to separate one's feelings and sometimes when one is young feeling over-rides thought. Mind you, I do not object to it, nor do I venture to criticise that frame of mind. In fact at times I admire and honour that aspect of a man's character. After all, it would not do if every body felt and acted the same. Still, the fact remains that these views do not matter very much and the view that the present is better than the proposed constitution is not likely to be taken at its face value, and people who are critical of such remarks are bound to call it bluff. Nobody will believe it. What then is of importance is the constitution which the House of Commons is discussing and is likely to enact and whether it will be worked in India by Indians or not. That is the question. It has been put more than once in the House of Commons. It has to be answered by you. There are those who say, "Oh, we will answer that question when we see the Bill as it is enacted; we will not answer it now; we do not know whether the Bill will undergo alterations in the House of Commons or not; it may be passed in a form which is quite different from what it is now". I admit the force of that argument, but all the same I say that the question has been put and if we have nothing to conceal, there is no reason why we should not

be ready to answer it. What is my answer to it? Sir, holding the view I do of the position of India and of the position of the Indian Legislature I think it is not open to Indians pursuing constitutional methods of agitation to refuse to work the constitution which is being enacted for them by those who have the authority to do so. That position might be challenged from many points. It may be said that there have been instances in different countries where constitutionally a different position has been taken up by a subordinate people. I will not deny that. But constituted as India is today I hold and maintain that it is not open to India to refuse the new constitution which may be prepared for it by the authority which has the power to do so. What then is the view of the Honourable Member? Here, Sir, I hold that the view to which most of the Honourable Members who have taken part in the debate have given expression, is that constitution is bound to be worked by them. Some have said, "We will work it fairly". That is one of the amendments, to give it a fair trial. There are others who said, "We will work it, but we will work it sullenly". That was the view given expression to by the Honourable Member from United Provinces. He said, "What is the good of Government securing such co-operation? It will be given, but it will be given in a spirit of unwillingness, of sullenness and non-operation". Well, I will try to go a little further in my analysis. Will that school of thought work the constitution constitutionally or with the object of obstructing it and making it unworkable? There is nothing new about these questions. There is nothing new about the position envisaged by me in these observations. What happened in the past, in 1920? One school of thought said they hated the Montagu Reforms to such an extent that they would boycott them, they would not enter the legislatures and would keep away from them. But that school of thought gave up that position three or four years later and in 1926, you will remember, they came trooping into the legislatures. Why? With the object of obstructing the reforms; with the object of demonstrating that the reforms

where unworkable. They began in that frame of mind, but they gradually got into their stride and began to work them. Therefore we have before us this precedent of the 1919 reforms, how some of us boycotted them, how the boycotters or some of the boycotters became Swarajists and co-operators, how they divided themselves into two schools of thought, those who would work them to show that they were unworkable and others who gave up the struggle and came to work them for what they were worth; and it is out of such parents that the Progressive Party has been born to stand by those reforms to the extent that it would not have any new reform, but would stick to them rather than go forward. So, Sir, I assure the House that situated as we are working the reforms, whether it is done by A,B or C or X, Y or Z, is inevitable. Some of us are bound to work them; others may not be able to control their feelings and for the time being feel that they will not work them and they cannot work them, they must not work them. Therefore am I right in thinking that barring very few exceptions, in this House there are no Members who take up the view that if this Bill is enacted during the course of this year or the next, that it will not be worked? On the other hand it seems inevitable, that some of us who will not work it, will find that there are many more ready to work it, that of those who are ready to work it, the number of those who would work it sullenly, if there are any, will gradually decrease and they will then start the new idea that we must work it honestly and fairly and vigorously, but at the same time we must try to obtain an advance; and when these two ideas are put together I have no doubt the party which has these two items on its programme will be able to command a large following. Again, we must remember that if we adopt any attitude other than that I have indicated, what is the constitutional device to which we can resort in order to have our views enforced and more or less compel the authorities which have the framing of our constitution to frame another constitution more acceptable to us than the present? Have we not for the

time being more or less exhausted all the constitutional devices? Has this struggle since 1919 __ really 16 years now __ not been a fairly prolonged one in which many people have suffered in life, in health, in wealth? Is it fair for our political leaders to think of placing any further strain on the country? My answer to these questions, Sir, is in the negative. It is not fair. Let the country have a breathing space. Whatever the nature of these reforms, let us try to do the best we can honestly by them. Ten years hence will be time enough to review the situation and formulate proposals. Situated as we are all the differences between minorities and majorities, between classes and classes have been so prominently brought up that for the time being it is hopeless to adjust them. Here I see before me the Progressive Party of this Council delivering strong speeches against the proposed constitution. They would have a fit if they knew that the interests of landlords and capitalists will be at the mercy of the members of the legislatures and the safeguards in the hands of the Governor and the Governor General to protect them will not exist. That is so far as the landlords and the capitalists of the Progressive Party are concerned.

I turn then for a moment to the religious people. They would have a fit if they were told that under the reforms scheme previous assent to religious legislation or veto in the interests of the orthodox is not safe in the custody of the Governor and the Governor General. Religious-minded people, the landlords, the capitalists. What is left of the country? The masses. The masses would be most unhappy, if the Labour Members of the House of Commons are to be believed, because they feel that this constitution is going to set up an oligarchy in India and God save them from the oligarchy. Therefore I say let us close the controversy. We have had enough of it for 16 years. Let us have a truce for ten years and work this thing for whatever it is worth, good, bad or indifferent, and then let it be up to those who are at the helm of affairs to review

the position and see what form the agitation, struggle for political advancement of India, should take. My advice therefore to the House is that on this matter such points as have already been decided by His Majesty's Government it is no use to cavil at them or to find fault with them or try to disown them. They are there and it will be better to accept them whether we like them or not. As to working them I have sufficiently indicated my view and that, I may say for the benefit of the Deputy Leader of the Progressive Party, is the view of the Government of the India as well. (Applause.)

DEATH OF SIR SANKARAN NAIR
COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS 26th APRIL, 1934

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain: (Leader of the House): Sir, it is my sad duty to mention this morning the great loss India has suffered in the death of one of India's greatest leaders, Sir Sankaran Nair. He was one of the early Indian stalwarts. Educated in law, having adopted law as his profession, he rose to the highest position that a member of the legal profession can occupy in his province as Advocate General. As a lawyer he not only practised law but also took an interest in legal literature, started legal journals, wrote in them, edited some. When he had enough of success in his profession, he moved from the profession of law to the bench. He was a permanent Judge of the Madras High Court for a number of years. Having completed his term there he served in the University for a number of years and was a member of the Provincial Legislature for some years. In every branch of law, whether as a lawyer or as a judge or as a legislator, he distinguished himself. However, it was not law that succeeded in absorbing all his energies. He took a keen interest in the politics of his country and as a very successful politician of the first rank in India, he rose to be the President of the Indian National Congress at Amraoti. In

those days those who took an interest in politics also took a keen interest in social advancement and industrial progress. He was President of the Madras Social Conference as well as of the Industrial Exhibition. He brought his very successful provincial career to a close, and rose to all-India eminence. He was appointed a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General in India. For four years he was Education Member. If I am not mistaken I believe he was the first Indian Education Member in the Government of India, from 1915 to 1919. Then he was for two years a Member of the Secretary of State's Council in London, 1920-21. Afterwards he came to the Council of State as an elected Member from his province. It was then that he was elected by this Council to represent it on the Indian Committee which was to serve with the Simon Commission to hammer out the report. He was later elected Chairman of that Committee.

In the whole of his career, whether as lawyer, a judge, a legislator, a politician, or a social reformer, there were one or two things which may be said to be the characteristic features of the man. One was independence of thought. And the second was his belief in his own judgement. He stood out for making up his own mind as to what was right and what was wrong and having made up his mind he had the strength of character to stick to it and there were in his life very few people who could persuade him to leave that line. No amount of authority or pressure succeeded in dissuading him from the course that he felt called upon to take. This distinguishing feature of the man runs throughout his career — independence of thought and judgement. He was an ex-President of the Indian National Congress but when he felt that the Indian National Congress was going wrong, having been an ex-President did not prevent his condemning the policy of the Congress at the time in very, very strong language. He was ready to come to the Executive Council of the Governor General and do his best but when he felt that he ought not

to remain a Member any longer, nothing could prevent his resigning.

What I am going to say illustrates the independent character of the man. He was ready to criticise Mr. Gandhi as an ordinary mortal like himself. At the same time he was ready to criticise violently Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose administration of 1919 had created a great deal of trouble. Here was a man who differed with both and found no difficulty in criticizing both. India needs men of such independent character and thought now more than ever. our country in the past has been one following the lead of authority perhaps too much. As a reaction, perhaps the tendency now has been to follow the opposite path. But even in that reaction, one needs the strength of character which is so necessary to keep public life at the high level that it ought to possess if the country is to make progress. As I have said, Sir, men of such character are few and at a such a critical juncture as the present, the loss of any of them cannot but be considered as a national misfortune. I am sure, Sir, this House of which he was such a distinguished member for a number of years would wish to convey to his family the appreciation and admiration this House had for him and also convey to them the condolence of this House at such a great loss which this House considers as a national calamity.

VALEDICTORY SPEECHES IN CONNECTION WITH THE RETIREMENT OF THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN

COUNCIL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS 29th MARCH 1935

The Honourable The President: The Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain, I have specially called today's meeting in order to bid you an affectionate farewell on the eve of your

retirement from this Council. I assure you that it is with feelings of regret and sorrow that the Honourable Members of my Council part from you on this occasion. Many of the Honourable Members of this Council have known you for several years, first when you had the good fortune to serve in your own province in the Punjab Legislative Council and later on when you were appointed a temporary Member of the Governor General's Executive Council and to this House. You came to this House well equipped with the knowledge and experience you had gained in your province where you for the first time had the occasion to enter the Council in 1920 and later on two distinct occasions you were elected unopposed to that Council. You had the good fortune to serve twice as a Minister in the Punjab and later on as the Revenue Member of the Executive Council of that province. We came in contact for the first time with you in a more concrete manner when you joined on two occasions this Council as a temporary Member and then the opinion and expectation we entertained that you will soon prove a very useful Member of this Council has been amply justified and more than fulfilled. (Applause.) You have been since your appointment in this House the Leader of this Council. The duties and responsibilities now-a-days of the Leader of a House in the Indian Legislature certainly is no bed of roses. A Leader of a House in the Indian Legislature certainly is no bed of roses. A Leader has to confront many a disagreeable task; he has to incur displeasure and incur obloquy at times and the disapproval of Honourable Members is so frequent who on occasions disagree with him. But in your case it may be safely said that in the execution and in the performance of your duties you have brought to bear rare tact, skill, persuasive powers and manners and masterly ability. (Applause.) Often in this House most acrimonious discussions have taken place and we have seen you ultimately winding up the debates with a grace and with a conciliatory manner which has

commanded the respect and attention of this House.

You were also in your official capacity as Education Member called upon to go to South Africa to lead the Indo-South African Conference of 1932. Your acumen there and the success which you attained there are now matters of history and common knowledge. I have no doubt that everyone in this Council hopes that in your retirement you will always bear in mind the five happy years that you have spent in this Council, and you may take it from me that this House will also remember with gratitude the services rendered by you in this Council. (Applause.) On behalf of my Council and myself I wish you in your retirement well-earned rest and all manner of happiness and hope that you may yet be spared for many years to do good work in other walks of life and in other spheres of activities and to continue to give to this country the services which you have so long vigorously and faithfully rendered.

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, on the occasion of farewell it is but right that I on behalf of my party should say how sorry we are to have to bid farewell to the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain, the Leader of our House. If during the five years that he has been with us the Council has not been able to achieve much in the popular sense the fault lies with the Constitution rather than with those who influence its working. Whether one agrees with Sir Fazli or not — and we on this side have several times differed from him — the fact remains that the Leader of our House possesses political gifts of a high order and have used them for the promotion of whatever ideals he believed in. His departure will be a definite loss to the Government of India, where his experience has been of great value. I hope Sir Fazl-i-Husain enjoys a well deserved eminence. It may be permissible to express the hope that his five years association with the central Legislature will

enable him to bring to bear on public problems the all-India outlook, which alone would conduce to a better development of national life. His recent speech in the other House proves how well he has fought for the Indians overseas though without success. But where there is a will there is a way. His efforts will not be wasted. He has given a great impetus to agricultural research.

The portfolio of the Member in Charge of Education, Health and Lands is a crowded one and Agriculture is the most important of the many subjects included in it. Sir Fazl-i-Husain's tenure of office has been marked by a period of renewed activity in agricultural matters by the Government of India — a welcome change — for this House has never agreed to the view that because agriculture is a transferred subject in the provinces, the responsibilities of the central Government were in consequence unimportant. Sir Fazli has been Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research throughout the greater part of its existence and even during a period

of great financial stringency was able to secure quite a substantial allotment of funds for agricultural research. This new organisation provided machinery by which work on problems of all-India importance could be assisted at other centres than the Government of India's own Central Research Institute. To Sir Fazli must also go most of the credit for the wise decision to establish the new Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research at New Delhi.

Of administrative action for the benefit of the agriculturist may be mentioned the decision to grant fiscal protection to the sugar industry in 1931, which has led to the establishment of 120 additional sugar factories in India and to our becoming almost self-supporting in regard to sugar; the Sugarcane Act, 1934, which by enabling the local Governments to fix minimum prices for sugarcane,

provides a means of bringing to the agriculturist a fuller share of the benefit of the protection granted to the industry. The Wheat Import Duty Act is fresh in our minds. At a critical time it prevented wheat prices from being yet further depressed by uneconomic imports and secured the Indian market for Indian wheat. The reduction in railway freight for wheat consigned to Karachi for export was of some assistance last year when world prices rose a little for a short time and India again became an exporter. In 1935 it may be of considerable importance both to Sind and the Punjab. Sir Fazli was one of the representatives of India in the Indo-Japanese Trade negotiations, the result of which has been a trade pact of distinct advantage to Indian cotton-growers and we know that he also took part in the discussions which led to the present organised efforts by Lancashire to purchase more Indian cotton — efforts which have met with success and have been appreciated by the Punjab cotton-growers. These few examples must suffice. We know that the decision in these matters is the decision of the Government of India as a whole, but we know quite well that in these and many other matters Sir Fazl-i-Husain has kept the agriculturists' point of view constantly before himself and his colleagues.

I must also pay him a tribute in that through his efforts there has been steady progress in the Indianisation of district civil surgeoncies, the number of Indian medical officers holding charge of civil surgeoncies in the various provinces having risen from 52 in March, 1930 to 65 in March, 1935.

Sir, we are also grateful to him for having maintained the progress of Indianisation in his Department at a time when other departments, such as the Finance Department, have gone back on this policy,

Sir, I wish Sir Fazl-i-Husain all success in his future career, long life and peace of mind.

The Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy (West Bengal: Muhammadan): Sir, on behalf of the Independent Party and also as an elected Muslim representative from Bengal, I beg to convey to the Honourable Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain the Leader of the House, who is now leaving us, our sense of loss at his departure, which will deprive us of his valuable advice which, while he was with us, was always freely given and which, on many an occasion helped to restore the balance of sanity in the House.

Sir, this House is under a deep obligation to Sir Fazl-i-Husain. He always struck the right note in debate, and even when we differed from him, we did not fail to recognise the fact that mere difference of opinion did not lessen either our regard, or our respect, for Sir Fazl-i-Husain, to whom the dignity of the House was a matter of as great a moment as to any one of us. Sir Fazl-i-Husain always raised the level of any debate in this House, and it is to his credit that although he has been scrupulously mindful of the cause of the Government, which he has so ably represented, he has, at the same time, never lost sight of the best interests of his people. He has always represented all that is best in India and among the Indians.

Finally, Sir, I may add that he has also proved himself a great Muslim, fair, impartial and an upholder of the truth. Needless to say, I wish him many more years of useful public service in his own province of the Punjab.

The Honourable Sardar Shri Jagannath Maharaj Pandit (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I also wish to associate myself with every word that has fallen from previous speakers. In him this House will lose one of the best specimens of Indians culture. As far as I am concerned, I can speak from my personal experience, as a member of the Emigration Committee, of which, the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain was Chairman, that he was very vigilant in safeguarding the interest of Indians abroad and took

special care to take every effective step possible by which the status of Indians abroad could be raised.

I wish him long life so that he may enjoy his well earned rest.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Hafeez (East Bengal: Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to associate myself with what has been said by the Honourable Members in eulogising the services of Sir Fazl-i-Husain, who is going to leave us by the 31st of March. It will be an irreparable loss to the House to miss a great statesman like him, who had all along displayed the highest acumen of intellectual greatness and political sagacity. His witticism, ingenuousness, erudition and discreetness always marked his history-making speeches in the House. Notwithstanding the great part that he has played in the evolution of the future of India, he has also most bravely steered the course of the House in a manner worthy of a great leader. I would now conclude with my best wishes for his health, happiness and ever more prosperity in life.

The Honourable Mr. E. Miller (Bombay Chamber of Commerce): Mr. President, on behalf of the non-official European Members of this House, I beg to associate myself with what you have said, Sir, and other Honourable Members of this House in regard to our Leader, Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

We know him in this House as being a most able administrator, and we admire his courage during these periods when he has not been enjoying the best of health, but has stuck to his post, I am sure very frequently at great inconvenience to himself. His quick grasp of a situation is a quality we must all admire, and this together with his keen sense of humour has proved to be the deciding factor in many a debate. Sir Fazli has shown great ability in dealing with the difficult problems of Indians overseas, and only during the past few days in another place, his handling of

the question of the position of Indians in East Africa was responsible for a debate on this subject ending in a most happy way and in a complete understanding between Government and the Congress Party.

We part with Sir Fazli with the greatest possible regret, and when he finally leaves Delhi he will take with him our very best wishes for the future and our hope that he may enjoy a better measure of health than he has done during the past year to two.

The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Khan (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, It is for me a matter of great pleasure and privilege to have known the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain for a very long time and there can be no gainsaying the fact that my associations with the Mian Sahib are of such a long duration that no Honourable Member of this House can claim priority over that. I feel proud to inform Honourable Members that the birthplace of the Mian Sahib belongs to my province where his late revered father had served the whole of his term of employment in Government service. His late father was a great and intimate friend of my father and as their great friendship developed into brotherly relations with each other, I have also looked upon the Mian Sahib as my brother and an elder brother on account of his being older than me in the matter of age. I know full well the days when the Mian Sahib was getting his education at Lahore, the time when he went to England to get his degree at the Bar and the days of his return from England when he started his practice at Sialkot. Later on he finally settled at Lahore where he had the good fortune to establish his reputation as a very good and capable lawyer and at one time the best man of his profession. I used to meet him there very frequently and in those days I found his views to be more or less those of a Congressman. Later on, he changed his angle of vision in political matters and decided

upon working out the Montford Reforms. The result was that he was the first Minister in the Punjab and since then up till the present moment he has always had the good fortune to hold a ministerial portfolio either in the Punjab or in the Government of India. He has been the Honourable Leader of this House for the last five years with a short break of six months during which period he had to go on leave owing to ill-health and during all this time we have always found him friendly, cordial and greatly amicable to all the Members. We are really sorry to miss him in future but had it not been for reasons of his health I am sure the Government of India would not have allowed him to retire at such a critical juncture when the next instalment of reforms, for the provision of which the Mian Sahib has exerted his utmost, are in the course of introduction very shortly. However, we hope to find him soon once again at the helm of affairs in the Punjab and within the time of his coming to that office, I earnestly hope that he will be in a position to recoup his health by a complete rest and thus renew his energies for the discharge of those responsible duties which are awaiting him in the Punjab.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji Choksy (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, as the only medical member of this House, I take this opportunity to tender to the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain the sincere gratitude of the medical profession for the great interest that he has evinced in the progress of medical sciences and medical education in India. It was his successful piloting of the Indian Medical Council Act that laid at rest a controversy that had been agitating the profession for a considerable time, and it was his zeal, sagacity and foresight that led to the happy termination of the most vexed question of the day. Further, Sir, if I am not mistaken, the recent concession that we received from the Secretary of State in regard to the recruitment of the Indian Medical Service is due to his great interest and solicitude for the Indian

profession. I believe that the work which he has achieved in the fields of public health and medicine will stand as a monument of his successful administration of these departments.

With these few words, Sir, I cordially associate myself with the sentiments of other Honourable Members of this House.

The Honourable Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (West Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, it is with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow that I rise to take part in the remarks which are being made on this occasion. Although my association with the Honourable the Leader of the House in the Council of State spreads only over a period of two months, I had the privilege of knowing him most intimately since 1918 when he was the greatest political leader in the Punjab. Sir, I agree with all those friends who have already spoken that we shall be very sorry to lose him from this House, particularly when, as it was remarked by a speaker in the lower House the other day, he is the only Member, of the Viceroy's Executive Council who has been always responsive to the opinions of the popular parties. Nevertheless, I am very glad that he is going back to the Punjab, which very badly needs an eminent and experienced statesman like him. Sir, since Sir Fazli left political life in 1920 and joined the Punjab Government as Minister, the Punjab has been badly in need of a real political leader. At present India is passing through most critical stages of political advance, and the greatest problem facing us at present is the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. No progress is possible unless that question is satisfactorily solved, and I am firmly convinced that it will be only through the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain that this question will be ultimately solved. I am sure, Sir, that when after his well-earned rest he goes back and takes an active part in the political life of the Punjab this most thorny question of the communal problem will be solved at once to the entire

satisfaction of all communities. Sir, I maybe permitted to say that the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain's activities outside the House will be of much more importance than they have been hitherto. All the progress and educational advance which we see in the Punjab are entirely due to the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain's policy which he laid down as Education Minister, and I have no doubt that in the progress of the Punjab lies the progress of India and that Sir Fazl-i-Husain will be spared for a long time to take a very prominent and active part in contributing towards the progress of his own province.

The Honourable Mr. M. G. Hallett (Home Secretary): Sir, It would have been inappropriate if the Government back benches were entirely silent on this occasion. I therefore merely rise to say on behalf of myself and my colleagues on those benches how fully we associate ourselves with all that you, Sir, and other Honourable Members have said in expressing their appreciation of all that Sir Fazl-i-Husain has done during this tenure of office in the Government of India. We who are in the position of Secretaries perhaps see more of an Honourable Member's work than those of you who merely see him in this House. We who have worked with him have learnt to appreciate his great ability, his invariable courtesy and his untiring devotion to duty. We say farewell with regret but I think many of us feel assured that those of us who continue to work in Delhi and Simla will certainly in the latter place in a few short years meet him again holding an even more important position in the Punjab Government than that which he has held so ably during the last five years.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Muhammad Din (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, we are today bidding farewell to the Leader of the House who is returning to his own province after a successful career as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain originally

started practice as a barrister in my home district, Sialkot, more than 30 years ago. His courtesy, his tact, his high character and capacity for work endeared him to the people of my district in a very short time. A high-minded patriot and an illustrious son of the Punjab, his qualities are well known all over India now and we Punjabis are proud of his achievements. We offer our sincerest good wishes to him and we hope that with the wider experience gained by him in the Government of India he will be able to serve his own province even more successfully, specially in the cause of Punjab agriculture.

The Honourable Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee (East Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Mr. President coming as I do from the province of Bengal I crave your indulgence and the indulgence of this Honourable House to afford me an opportunity in a rather melancholy strain to give vent to our feelings in an hour when we are just on the eve of bidding our respectful and parting farewell to our much esteemed friend the retiring Leader of our House, Sir Fazl-i-Husain. When it was my privilege, Sir, to come to this House in the latter part of the year 1930, we saw our esteemed friend occupying the seat in the other House. We used to see him like a "star from afar" and hardly we knew till then that he would be the "Pole Star" in the upper Chamber to guide and steer it in the right direction whenever it was found weathering a stormy sea. He, I believe, preferred the rather calmer atmosphere of this House in place of the tumultuous and tiresome one of the other. Sir, the higher regions are always serene and breathe an air of dignified superiority over the vitiated atmosphere of the lower regions and I believe he has derived the fullest extent of what he desired from the upper House which was always cordial and friendly to him. Sir Fazli is too great a personality to be judged by me and many others of my school of thought who are not supposed to know even a fraction of the wide knowledge and experience he possesses through culture and persever-

ance, a rare gift which many of his generation will envy. His was a life full of useful activities in pursuit of learning, knowledge and culture and it was therefor very appropriate that he took his seat as Education Member of the Government of India. Those that had the opportunity of listening to his masterly convocation address as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University the other day or those that have gone through his speech in the papers must admit the admirable lucidity and frankness with which he made his statement advocating the spirit of forbearance and tolerance towards his fellow men which was the ultimate goal of success when people are at strife with one another and which formed a conspicuous part of the best advice he could give to the rising generation of the day. During the tenure of his office as Education Member, I think it was for the first time that Sir Fazli visited our part of Eastern Bengal and the people of that province had their first occasion to great him as one amongst them and it is for him to judge what recollection and idea he treasured up in his mind about the people and the strange land he visited during his eastern sojourn. Whatever he might have cherished in his mind, good, bad or indifferent in his official capacity, is a sealed book to us and which we are not entitled to traverse. We must consider him from our Indian standpoint — an Indian first and an official after. Now, Sir, when he is about to lay down the rein of a successful career of administration in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, what can we offer him save and except our hearts' most spontaneous wish for his long, happy and peaceful life in his well-earned retirement and in the midst of his near and dear ones and it is our further wish to let him not forget those familiar faces of this Chamber to whom it is so very painful to forget him.

With these words, Sir, I wish all the very best of this side of the House and our respectful farewell.

The Honourable Sayed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur (Madras: Muhammadan): Sir, I associate myself with all that has been said in grateful appreciation of the admirable manner in which the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain has been discharging the onerous duties which devolved upon him during all these five years that he has been the Leader of this House. Sir, his genial disposition, his winning manners, the invariable courtesy which he extended to every section of this House, have won for him a privileged corner in the hearts of everyone present here. I am sure everyone here will miss him sorely when he retires from his present office. Sir, the perfect mastery of the art of dialectic fencing, the great wealth of knowledge and information, his remarkable capacity for toleration and an almost inexhaustible fund of patience, these were qualities which he displayed in the Leadership of this House. Sir, even the most violent storms of controversy which swept over the floor of this House failed to disturb his equanimity. He always kept himself calm, cool and altogether unruffled. Sir, while he stove to demolish and pull to pieces the case that was made against him, he used always to refrain from indulging in cheap gibes and jeers. He was always ready to appreciate and acknowledge the honesty of motive, even though he refused to approve of the views of his adversary. Sir, the cold logic which characterised his arguments was always relieved by brilliant sallies of wit and humour which made his speeches in this House always interesting. Sir, the consummate tact which he displayed in handling difficult situations, the disposition he had for accommodation, the catholicity of mind which he always had and which always enabled him to tolerate honest difference of opinion and above all, Sir, the charm and splendour of his personality always enabled him to convert defeats into victories and turn those people who were the bitterest of his critics to be the best of his admirers. Sir, Sir Fazl-i-Husain has always been known for his patriotism and public spirit. Long before he assumed

office as a Minister of the Punjab Government, he had earned for himself a name in the temple of fame. Sir, at the very outset of his career he found himself in the front ranks of public men in the country. Not only was he the President of the Bar Association in the Punjab, but he was also the elected Secretary of a leading educational institution, a Fellow of the Punjab University and a Member of its Syndicate. Sir, it was only in the fitness of things that one who had taken such keen interest in education should have been entrusted with the Education portfolio of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir, several Honourable friends who have spoken have given instances of the way in which he has left his indelible mark upon those departments over whose activities he has presided. I am sure I am echoing the feelings of everyone here present that we are oppressed with a great sense of loss at parting from him. I wish him long life and every happiness and prosperity.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain (Leader of the House): You will permit me, Sir, to move from the personal to the impersonal and from the individual to the association. I wish to say a few words as to the Council of State itself. The first noticeable thing is that it has now full fledged parties in it. Formerly there used to be no such parties. No doubt we on this side find one Party particularly troublesome at times. Still it shows that the House has developed along constitutional lines and is showing the existence of life in it and vitality and all that makes for development in the constitutional sense. Then, Sir, the debates of this House used to be very much to the point and very brief and I remember in 1925 when I officiated I had to be very quick to reach the House; otherwise I ran the risk of meeting Members when they were returning from the meeting if I was a little late. During the five years we have seen the House making its debates more exhaustive, more spirited, perhaps more protracted as well and double sessions have recently been

the rule rather than the exception. All that shows that Members take keen interest and work up their subjects and are really getting on very well. It is a great pleasure to know that the atmosphere of the House has invariably been one of cordiality, goodwill and good humour. I think these are the distinctive features of what I may call a good House. These debates are no joke; they provoke people to antagonism, expressions of different views, conflict of interest, and it is really up to us, in spite of the sort of business we have to transact, still to maintain cordiality and goodwill and without these the House soon falls very low. Then, Sir, not only have we got organised parties, real troublesome debates — long ones — but we have now got what we did not possess when in came, a non-official President. (Applause.) That is another advance, constitutional advance, in making this House a real political institution of great importance in India. Then many Members of this House have proceeded to serve on important national committees in India and outside India. That again gives a status and a position to the House in the political life of the country. In virtue of all these things, Sir, which it has been my good fortune to watch coming into being and develop, what do we see in the future? It is very difficult to see anything in the future. You can only make a guess. But if you look hard enough at what is in the India Bill which is under discussion, you will find that when it is actually passed, this House, which has been more or less described as an upper Chamber — meaning thereby of not much consequence — the new *june*, that is to say in the new incarnation (*june* in Punjabi and in Urdu means the new shape that the body assumes after death according to Hindu belief) it will become a more important partner in the central Legislature perhaps than the other. Now, Sir, I claim that this is really the reward for the good life led by this House during the last five years, and it will be my privilege in my retirement to see this House develop into a full-fledged major partner in the central Legislature of a great country. What a wonderful part this House will be playing at that time I

leave it to the imagination of Honourable Members to divine, and no more for them a nominated Member like me. Your Leader will come from amongst you. So that is, Sir, what I trust is in store for this House and if I have done anything to work towards that ideal I am well repaid for all the trouble I may have taken to get it.

It is true, Sir, partings are sad affairs. But I have got more or less habituated to them and take a more optimistic view of them. I would not be parting from my Honourable colleagues now if somebody had not parted from them five years ago, and if there is another place for me to go to I could not be welcomed there unless I left this place. So we ought to take these five-year appointments as a real good thing. In five years time one puts in as much as one has it in him to put into a particular job. There is a healthy principle behind it all.

I am most grateful to you, Sir, for the very complimentary things you have said about me: it is not right for a man to hear such nice things said about him. They are apt to turn his head. And I really must do my best to keep my head today for what I want to do is to devote my attention now for some time to come to develop physical force, mental force, and if possible spiritual force to help my country's interests.

Section 6

PUNJAB POLITICS:

(A)

FACTS AND FICTIONS

INTRODUCTORY

According to the last census in the Punjab, Muslims are nearly 57 percent, Hindus 28 and Sikhs 13 per cent. and the non Muslim Press in the Punjab is never tired of firstly preaching the obligations of the majority towards the minority, and secondly expressing fears as to what the fate of the minorities may be, in case the majority secured a position of predominance in the reformed Government of the future. During the last fifteen years or so the Hindu-cum-Sikh Press has been most vociferous in giving expression to their dismay and despair, at the way in which non-Muslim interests have been sacrificed and Muslims have been favoured by Government. Favouritism of a community is not easy to define, but in India it can only mean either giving undue representation in services, or in local self-government, or in grant of lands, *jagirs* or even titles. There is no other way in which a Government can show favouritism to an individual or a community. It should further be noticed that the impression conveyed to an outsider by the ravings of the Hindu-cum-Sikh Press of the Punjab is that the British Government has been favouring and flattering Muslims as against the nationalist Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab and that in consequence, whether in public service or in local bodies or in the grant of lands, *jagirs* or honorary distinctions, Muslims have been given much more than their majority justified and in consequence the non-Muslim minorities have been unjustly and ruthlessly denied their rights.

Having stated what the complaint of the Hindu and

Sikh minorities could possibly be, it would be as well to examine what the facts actually are.

FACTS PRE 1890, AND THE RESULTS OF BUREAUCRACY'S FAVOURTISM FROM 1890 TO 1920

It is believed that in the pre-mutiny British period, the administration was run by those who were already in the old administration and strange as it may sound the representation of Muslims in public services was fairly good. In fact it is definitely known that so far as the imparting of education is concerned the Muslim representation was in excess of their population basis. Subsequent to the mutiny, however, it appears that the Muslim representation in services began to deteriorate and had reached the lowest limit, when a few far-seeing British officers realised that the administration was rapidly passing into Hindu hands. It was in the eighties, that the British Government realised that the Muslim element in the administration had become very small and since then it had been the British Government's policy to make declarations to the effect that they were for helping the Muslims educationally, and that as soon as they were fit by virtue of their education they would be given their due share in the administration of the country. The Aligarh movement, the Congress, the British Government's declarations of policy to help the Muslims were making progress during the nineties. Towards the end of the first decade of the 20th century, the educated young Muslims realised that Government declarations meant nothing, that the authorities said a great deal but did little and the politically-minded amongst them started the Muslim League. What was the effect of the British Government's policy on the Muslim representation in the services in the Punjab before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1921?. The bureaucracy had more than thirty years wherein to show the result of

this policy of the proclaimed Muslim favouritism. On the eve of reforms the position in the public services was far from satisfactory. Barring the lowest section of two departments, in all the departments their representation was very very small, about 33 per cent. In other words, on an average the representation of the majority community was about 33 per cent., while the minorities had the remaining 67 per cent. to themselves. This is the net result of the favouritism, extending over one generation, shown by the bureaucracy to the Muslims of the Punjab. The usual explanation of want of education among the Muslims has been examined and rejected many a time. It is one of the fictions which have been proved to be fictions but are so perseveringly persisted in, that they continue to live. Is it that the Hindus and Sikhs who find employment in Government offices are better qualified, as a rule, than the Muslims available? Nothing of the kind. Why? Even among Hindus and Sikhs it is not merit that is the passport the Government offices, but favouritism and nepotism of the men round about the posts which fall vacant. It is the old principle of "have-gots" getting more and "have-nots" being deprived of what little they may have. The bureaucracy's effort, if an effort was made, failed miserably in the Punjab.

It may be said that might have been the condition in 1920, but fifteen years of diarchy have revolutionised the position; the Muslim Ministers and Members of the cabinet dominated the situation, made good all the deficiency and that is what made the poor Hindus and Sikhs groan and become apprehensive as to the future wherein Muslim majority may be a predominant factor in the reformed cabinet.

FACTS RE-SERVICES, 1921 — 1934

Reserved Departments. No Appreciable Improvement in Muslim Proportion:

Let us again examine facts. In 1926 the Punjab Government agreed to publish every year a consolidated statement showing the proportionate representation of the various communities serving in the different departments of the Punjab Government, and as it publishes this statement on the 1st January of each year, the Muslim position on the 1st January 1935 will show whether there is or there is not justification for the Hindus and Sikhs to groan and call every fair-minded Indian and Britisher to bear witness to the injustice and inequality to which they have been subjected under the Montagu Reforms, to save them from the approaching calamity of a *Muslim* predominance in the reformed cabinet of the future. It would be best to take departments seriatim.

Firstly, the Reserved Departments. In the Punjab Civil Service. Executive Branch, Muslim representation stands at 44.5 per cent. and in the Judicial Branch at 34.7. The Police Department is supposed to be the Monopoly of the Muslims, but amongst the Inspectors their representation is only 38.4 as against 38.4 Hindus and Sikhs. Amongst Sub-Inspectors the Muslim have their population basis and amongst Assistant Sub-Inspectors and head constables they are in excess of their population basis.

Coming to the P.W.D. Irrigation Branch, Muslim representation in the Punjab Engineering Service is 18 as against 66 of Hindus and Sikhs. Amongst Sub-Engineers 12.5 per cent. as against 87.5 of Hindus, amongst the Subordinate Engineering Service 29.5 per cent. as against 70.5 of Hindus and Sikhs. What a wonderful story of Muslim predominance in all services! When we come to head clerks and clerks of which there are as many as 648, Muslim representation is 36.4 against 62.8 of the Hindus and Sikhs. Amongst the signallers of whom the number is 485, their representation is only 35 per cent. When we

come to Patwaries of whom the number is 2,698, the Muslim representation is only 38.2 as if suitable Muslims cannot be found for being Patwaries in the Irrigation Branch. And this is the condition of a department which has been under a Muslim Member from 1926 to 1936. What an eloquent testimony of Muslim favouritism! One is astonished at the hue and cry raised in the non-Muslim Punjab Press as to Muslim favouritism when one sees that in a department which employs thousands of persons, most of them of low qualifications, the Muslim representation is so very small — and this is in spite of the fact that the department has been under Muslim Members for ten years. Let us now turn to the Forest Department. There in the Provincial Service, Extra Assistant Conservators of Forests, Muslim representation is 17.4 per cent. as against 47.8 of Hindus and 34.8 sikh. It is only in the Land Revenue Department that Muslim representation is nearly 50 per cent. There are 9.270 Patwaries of whom 49 per cent. are Muslims. Is it not strange that the Revenue Department should be able to find 49 per cent. of Muslim Patwaries when their requirement is as large as 9,270, but the Irrigation Department should not be able to find more than 37 per cent Muslims for their smaller requirement of 2,968?

In the Law Department the representation is nearly one-third. When we come to the Jail Department Muslim representation in the higher ranks is low, and it is only in the case of head warders that they exceed their population basis. In the High Court Muslim representation among clerks is 37.1 per cent. but why complain of that when in the Punjab Civil Secretariat it is even less. Just imagine, the fountain head of Muslim favouritism, the Punjab Civil Secretariat, in the year 1935, after 15 years' predominance of Muslim influence in H.E. the Governor's cabinet showing 37 per cent. Muslim representation. What a marvellous achievement! It seems to one that if things continue in the reformed Government of the future with Muslim predomi-

nance, as in the past, Muslim representation might well come down to 25 per cent. In the offices near the Punjab Civil Secretariat, i.e., the Financial Commissioners' Office, we find again Muslim representation is 37 per cent. This again in spite of the fact that the Revenue Members since 1926 have been Muslims. In the District Subordinate Service as many as 2, 729 are employed. In the whole of the Punjab, Muslim representation is 47.4 per cent. Not bad, considering the position elsewhere, but certainly well below half. This finishes the Reserved Departments.

The net result of the survey made above is that the Muslim representation in the Reserved Departments is very poor in higher grades and is in excess of its population basis in the case of head constables and head warders. Excluding head constables and head warders the representation is below 40 per cent., and this after 15 years of the reformed Government. It might be said that the Reserved Departments are Reserved Departments, and things are quite different in the case of Transferred Departments, and it is there that the mischief has been done and it is there that the Hindus and Sikhs have suffered. Let us, therefore, proceed to examine the Transferred Departments.

In the Transferred Departments:

Ministry of Agriculture — Hindus and Sikhs have no Complaints:

Starting with the Ministry of Agriculture we find that in the Provincial Agricultural Service Class I, there is no Muslim; that in the Subordinate Service, amongst Agricultural Assistants their representation is 33 per cent. while among Mukaddams (of lower status than head warders) their representation is 66. In the Veterinary Department their representation works out to about 45 per cent. and in the Co-operative Department it approaches the population basis. But when we come to the P.W.D. we find that in the special posts — 27 in number — Muslims are only 7.4 per cent; in the case of Provincial Service only 11.8 per cent; in

the case of Sub-Engineers only 16.5 per cent; and in the cadre of Upper and Lower Subordinates and S.E.S. not more than 33 percent. Even amongst the clerks they are only 36 per cent. Nothing in the domain of the Ministry of Agriculture to justify Hindu and Sikh groanings! On the other hand, it can reasonably be said that the Muslims are very poorly represented in the P.W.D., and poorly in the Agricultural Department. It might be urged that the Agricultural Department has been always under the administration of a Hindu or a Sikh Minister and that is why Hindu and Sikh rights have not been trampled under foot. Let us turn to the Ministry of Education which has been in the charge of a Muslim from the very beginning excepting for one term of three years or so.

Ministry of Education — Majority below 40 — Minorities above 60:

Firstly, the Education Department. Muslim representation in the special posts is 11.1 per cent. against 11.1 per cent. of Hindus and 22.2 others, while the European element is 55.6 per cent. In the Punjab Educational Service, Men's Branch, Class 2, there are 111 posts. Muslim representation is only 36.2 as against the Hindu and Sikh representation of 57.1. In the Subordinate Educational Service, Anglo vernacular Section, which has a cadre of 988, Muslim representation is only 38.9 as against Hindu and Sikh representation of 60.1. What alarming figures! This is the department which has been for 11 out of the last 15 years under Muslim Ministers, and throughout the department Muslim representation is round about 40, while in the upper ranks it is round about 35.

Medical — Majority below 30. Minority above 70:

Let us now turn to the second department under successive Muslim Ministers — Medical. Muslim representation amongst Civil Surgeons is 22 per cent., Civil Assistant Surgeons 27 per cent. and Sub-Assistant Surgeons 22.8 per cent. In the case of dispensers it is 32.9 per cent. and in the

total it is only 25 per cent. Here again is a department which has been for 11 or 12 years under Muslim Ministers and it commands 25 per cent. representation for a majority community of 57 per cent. What a wonderful justification for the minorities to raise the hue and cry that they have been raising during the last 15 years. In the Public Health Department the representation remains well below 40 per cent. and this because it is in the charge of the Minister for Education.

Ministry of Local Self-Government:

When we come to the Ministry of Local Self-Government the same tale is repeated as in the case of the ministry of Agriculture. While in the Registration department where Muslim representation is 44.2 every effort is made not to let it go up even to 50 per cent., not to speak of 56 per cent., and to raise the Hindu representation without touching the Sikh representation which stands at presented at 32.7 per cent. This is the department which, for a number of years, was also under Muslim Ministers.

This completes the surveys of the services of the Punjab Administration. What is the bird's eye view of the situation? It is this: The departments which have been under the Muslim Ministers show very poor Muslim percentages. The departments which have been under non-Muslim Ministers show very high Hindu and Sikh percentages and very low Muslim percentages. One wonders in view of these facts — facts brought out by Government publications and brought out not once only, but once every year, and published every year since the last ten years — what have the successive Governments been doing in the matter? Nothing, except that they have been cowed down by the circulation of misrepresentations which, if rightly named, would be called lies. Instead of the Government issuing an authoritative statement to the effect that these allegations are absolutely unfounded and

untrue and quoting chapter and verse from each department, in particular the departments of Muslim Ministers, they have been watching, no doubt impartially, the working of the reforms, the falsehoods finding general currency and taking no steps to mitigate the evil. Why had nothing been done by those who were in authority and in a position to know what the evil was?

Possible Explanation for the Hindu-Sikh Press Propaganda. No Improvement worth Mentioning in Muslim Representation:

It might be said that it is all very well to wax eloquent on the poor figures in the departments of Muslim Ministers and try to make out that they have done no harm to Hindus and Sikhs during their time. But may be they have done a great deal of harm and raised tremendously the percentages which were very, very low in the departments when they took them over, and thus during the last 15 years have perpetrated innumerable acts of injustice and inequity to the detriment of Hindus and Sikhs. Well, there is logic behind this argument. The published consolidated statement which can be compared with that of January 1935 is one which was published on the 1st January 1927. There was one prior to it in 1926. There is no such statement before 1926. It appears that during the last 8 years comparing the figures of January 1927 with those of January 1935, the position has in no way improved and, indeed, in some cases, it has actually deteriorated. The fountain head of the so-called favouritism, H. E. the Governor of the Punjab, who is responsible for the recruitment of the executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service, has let the Muslim representation which was 44.5 in 1927 be 44.15 in 1934. What a signal proof of sympathy with loyal Muslims during the eight years of favouritism! Can one say that during this period brilliant Muslims were nor forthcoming? Can it be said that in the Provincial Executive Service Muslim element is not head-and-shoul-

ders above non-Muslim element? Have they not distinguished themselves in executive work, in settlement work, in every branch in which they have been tried? That they may do, but H. E. the Governor is bound to be influenced by the public press, and the public press, mainly Hindu and Sikh, raises a hue and cry and H. E. assured of the loyalty of the Muslims and the support of the Muslim Members of the Cabinet can well afford to appease the Hindus and Sikhs by giving them more nominations than they are entitled to, and satisfies his Muslim friends with promises to materialise in the future. In the Financial Commissioner's office in 1927, the Muslim representation stood at 42, and in honour of the revenue Member being a Muslim since then up to 1935 the representation went down to 41. What an eloquent testimony to a Muslim Member pushing the Muslim representation so strongly! Similarly, in the Forest Department which is also under the Revenue Member, Muslim representation of 20 went down to 17.4. In the Irrigation Branch there is no improvement to speak of. Under the Ministry of Agriculture the percentage of Muslim Agricultural Assistants fell further. In the P.W.D., where Muslim representation was already poor, it fell still further. In the Education Department there was no rise to speak of. Therefore, a comparison of the statements of 1st January 1927 and 1935 establishes beyond a shadow of doubt, that during the period the advance has been very little. If there is advance in one branch there has been deterioration in the other and the net result is no advance.

Conclusion: In Services — No Justification for Hindu-Sikh Complaints:

What, then, one may ask, is the justification for all the agitation that has been carried on during the last 15 years? When men in authority make speeches they appeal to the Muslim community in the Punjab to realise their responsibility and win the confidence of the Minority. They do not say how that confidence is to be won. Do they suggest that Muslims should forego their claim to representation in

services? Do they really suggest that to satisfy the minorities the Muslims should submit to being depressed? It is astonishing how fictions so successfully displace facts, that no one takes the trouble to look at facts and fictions pass for facts.

HAS ANY INJUSTICE BEEN DONE TO HINDUS AND SIKHS IN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT?

No Enlargement of Scope of Communalism in Local Self-Government Since 1921.

Next, it may be that Hindu-cum-Sikh agitation is not due to "Service" but to the injustice done to them in Local Self-Government. This department was under a Muslim Minister for five years, and after an interval of a year or so was again in charge of a Muslim Minister for three years and has since been under a Hindu Minister. In order to have a clear conception of the issues involved, it would be best first to state what the position was on the eve of the introduction of the Montagu Reforms, what changes were introduced by the first Muslim Minister in charge of it, and whether those changes were as alleged by the Hindu and Sikh critics, intensely communal, poisoning the Local Self-Government with the virus of communalism, or on the other hand, were measures of reforms in accordance with the Liberal and the Congress programme. Before the introduction of the Montagu Reforms the local bodies in the Punjab were of two kinds: Firstly, the District Boards wherein the electorates were joint, but there were some District Boards which were entirely nominated and some which were largely nominated and in all, the official element was considerable, and to all intents and purposes the District Boards could scarcely be said to be self-governing institutions. The second category of local bodies consisted of municipalities wherein franchise was high, the nominated element very considerable and the official element considerable. Each district had a District Board

and the total number of the municipalities in the Punjab was about 110. There were also a few Notified Area Committees which were nominated bodies. In half the municipalities, joint-electorates obtained while in the other half separate electorates prevailed. What was the condition of the Muslim representation in these bodies? Very poor and very unfair. In the District Boards, as a rule, constituencies were so framed that Muslim voters did not preponderate in as many constituencies as their voting strength would have justified. That is to say, there was gerrymandering in the formation of constituencies.

The position of the municipalities was even worse. In many cases where joint-electorates prevailed a large number of Muslim voters were locked up in one or two constituencies, while constituencies wherein Hindu voters predominated were small, i.e., had a smaller number of voters in them. To give an example, while in one constituency there were as many as 1,000 voters in another there were less than 300, and it so happened that the constituency with less than 300 voters had a very large preponderance of Hindu voters while the one with one thousand voters had 900 Muslim voters in it. Thus this gerrymandering resulted in municipalities with joint-electorates, in spite of the proportion of three Muslim voters to one Hindu voter, having a set of constituencies in half of which Hindu voters preponderated over the Muslim voters. Again, the franchise was high and thus the proportion of Muslim voters to Hindu voters was definitely prejudicial to Muslim representation being anything like adequate. These evils cried loudly for reform. If the bureaucracy had attached any importance to Local Self-Government these evils could not have existed, but the bureaucracy believed in efficiency, in maintaining law and order, in dealing with manifestations of sedition, political offences, collection of land revenue and taxes, and such petty things as Local self-government or education, for

which there was not enough time. They could be attended to when there was time.

New Local Bodies all with Joint-Electorates:

The Muslim Minister proceeded to carry out a liberal programme of reform. Firstly, he passed the Panchayat Act, in which and in the rules framed under it there is neither directly nor indirectly any tinge of communalism. This Act is of the same kind as the C. P. Panchayat Act, or the Madras Act, but simply because it was a measure which was likely to save the rural classes from the domination of the money lender and the petty official, the urban Hindus and Sikhs violently opposed it. The bureaucracy was not very helpful — a sort of beneficent neutrality — and even this, on account of the political situation at the time, and it was not till two or three years after the passing of the Act, that the Punjab Government agreed to give the measure a fair chance. It is believed to have done a great deal of good, but curiously enough, this was one of the first to fall a victim to the retrenchment zeal of the Government.

Then the Muslim Minister passed a Small Town Committees' Act. This again was solely a Local Self-Government measure which was absolutely non-communal. The electorates are joint, the elected element is very large — over 80 per cent., the nominated element is very small, restricted on an average to one non-official nomination. The franchise is low and it can be very well said that these two measures, the Panchayat Act and the Small Town Committees' Act have very considerably broadened the basis of Local Self-Government for rural and urban areas.

Reforms in the Already Existing Local Bodies:

Now as to the reforms, in the then existing legislation relating to District Boards and Municipalities amending bills were introduced and passed. In both these institutions elected element was increased, the official element very much reduced and in actual planning of constituen-

cies one uniform principle was observed. The District Boards continued to retain their joint-electorates and the municipalities which had separate electorates continued to retain them, and the municipalities which had separate electorates continued to retain them, and the municipalities which had joint-electorates continued to retain their joint-electorates. This is the whole story of the Local Self-Governent under the first few years of the reformed Government. One is astonished at the hue and cry raised against communalism having been introduced into it. It is astonishing how absolutely unfounded allegations can, in these days of press propaganda, gain currency and credence, and how fictions displace facts. A fair-minded person, when presented with these facts, looks suspicious and asks why, if these were the facts, they were not brought out? Why were fictions allowed to displace these facts? When he is told that these facts were brought out year after year in annual administration reports of the Department of Local Self-Government, that annual reviews were issued, that all these matters formed the subject-matter of interpellations in the Legislative Council and answers were given and published, he is then a bit confused as he is unwilling to recognise the powers of the press for mischief.

To sum up, in the matter of Local Self-Government during the reformed period, nothing has been done which could in any way be called communal. In fact the Liberal or Congress programme of reform has been carried out in the spirit in which the Liberals and the Congress people had conceived it, and in actual administration glaring evils and injustices have been put right with the result that some non-Muslims were displaced by Muslims but the percentage cannot be more than 10, for even now the non-official Muslim representation in the local bodies is not in excess of 50 per cent.

GRANTS OF LAND AND JAGIRS

Thirdly, the question of grants and honours. Grants cover grants of colony lands and *jagirs*. As to colonylands, they need not detain us even for a few minutes in view of the economic conditions prevailing since the last 8 years. Irrespective of this phase of the problem, the grants to Muslims were not in excess of those to non-Muslims. As regards *jagirs*, again till 1927 the grant of *jagirs* to Muslims was definitely much less then the grant to non-Muslims and some very peculiar reasons were adduced in support of it. Since 1927 the grants to Muslims and others have been half and half. There again no unfairness can be pointed out.

TITLES

Some are inclined to attach some importance to honours, while others take a more democratic view and attach no importance whatsoever to them. Without discussing the respective merits of these views, it will be enough there to say that even in this matter Muslim representation is considerably below 30 per cent.

SUMMING UP

Let the position now be summed up. The Muslim representation in services in the higher ranks is less than one-third, in the middle ranks round about 40 per cent., and in the lowest ranks well below 50 per cent., except in the case of head constables and head warders and mukaddams, that as against Muslim preponderance in these three lowest grade posts in the list, the non-Muslim preponderance amongst Patwaries, signallers, artificers, sub-overseers, clerks more than counterbalances this excess, and, on the whole it can be said that in the administration the Muslim representation is much less than 50 per cent. and scarcely in excess of 40 per cent., and that Hindu and Sikh representation instead of being slightly above 40 per cent. has, if anything, gone above 60 per cent. As to Local Self-

Government the Muslim representation is below 50 per cent. As to grants it is again below 50 per cent.

What then is the Hue and Cry due to?

Is it then that during the last 15 years political position in the Punjab has remained what it was before the introduction of reforms? The reply to this question is definitely in the negative. Under the purely bureaucratic Government the non-Muslim communities dominated the situation and virtually ruled the province in the name of the bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy were over and over again approached by the Muslims for justice and invariably repulsed with the cold insulting reply: "we are holding the balance even; you are backward; nothing can be done for you; we are trying to educate you." And provisional, conditional, problematic promises of half a dozen scholarships of the value of Rs. 5 per mensem, tenable in backward districts for Muslims in penurious conditions were held out. Even these promises seldom materialised because the clerks in the Finance Department assured the Finance Secretary that the condition of the provincial finances was so poor that such a heavy burden — Rs. 360 per annum for a number of years — would not be justified and public interest demanded that such precedent be not created and weakness not shown. The head of the Province had to announce this unpalatable decision in a friendly and sympathetic speech in answer to the most flattering and loyal address and the chapter of that particular effort was closed. The result was inevitable. The rising generation of Punjab Muslims could not tolerate this treatment any longer and political feelings ran high and common interest of all communities brought about a union, defying all distinction of religion and race. The result was a common programme of reform in principle as well as in detail. The bureaucracy would not believe it. The Muslim aristocracy assured the bureaucracy that this was fiction, and 1919 followed.

Due to Reforms Raising the Political Status of Muslims:

This, however, does not mean that the position of Muslims in the Punjab in 1935 is no better than it was in 1920. There is a world of difference. It is true that in the services their representation has not appreciably improved. It is also true that their representation, though slightly better in Local Self Government than it was before the reforms, is not so much more than it was before as to make all the difference that there is between the Muslim position before the reforms and the Muslim position now. What then is the change, and what is it due to? There is a change. Before the reforms Muslim position was one of servility all round. Servile to bureaucracy and servile to their neighbours, without hope, going about begging and being kicked all round. Whatever was given to them was believed to be by way of charity. The Montagu Chelmsford Reforms revolutionised the position. The vote gave them an appreciation of their power, their strength. In fact it restored to them their self-respect. After the reforms what they wanted was, not charity, but their rights. What they wanted was not favour, but recognition, however tardy, of overdue claims. The legislature, and the good luck of acting together in the legislature, enabled them to see that all was not yet lost; that under certain circumstances it was possible to live respectably, claiming and obtaining respect from others whether bureaucracy or other communities and at the same time being ready to show respect to others. The creation of new Local Self-Government institutions promoted this feeling of self-respect, this feeling of existing in their own right and not being at the mercy of someone else responsible for the development of an atmosphere wherein servility finds no place. The sister communities unfortunately took up the attitude "upstarts, servile creatures of yesterday posing as mighty people." The bureaucracy put up with this changed mentality and did not show resentment for obvious reasons. It was finding the sister communities quite a nuisance and the incidents

of 1916 onwards were such as to make it welcome the Muslims. Thus the fiction grew of Government's favouritism of Muslims. For some time indications are not wanting that the whole position is being reviewed to see to what extent policies initiated in early twenties need revision.

Due to Rural People Including Rural Hindus of Ambala Division and Kangra Awakening to the Realisation of their Rights:

This, however, is not the end of the story. Muslims and the rural Hindus of Ambala Division and Kangra district were starved under bureaucratic rule, like weak units all over the world. Under the reforms the policy of helping the backward people and the backward areas came as a God-send to them all. In matter of education, primary education was brought to the very doors of the rural people. Secondary education developed rapidly and rural Punjab had an educational awakening the like of which had not happened in the history of the Punjab before, and in no province had such far-reaching and rapid progress been witnessed even under the reforms. Primary education, secondary education, intermediate education, all developed to such an extent that the country yielded a big harvest of educated rural people. They found their way to various berths in the Government departments which used to be occupied by their friends of the urban areas who had command of better facilities and, therefore, naturally had better prospects. Thus grew the fiction of Government favouritism of the rural areas in order to spite the urban people. This has no more foundation in fact than the allegation of Muslim favouritism.

UPLIFT OF RURAL AREAS ENABLING THEM TO STAND UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS

Again, with local self-government becoming much

more a reality than it used to be before the reforms, extension of medical relief in rural areas, expansion of veterinary relief throughout the country, development of agricultural facilities, development of co-operative enterprises, all these things breathed a new life into the rural Punjab wherein Muslims predominated. This gave them a position and status in the country which no agitation of the urbanities can take away. In fact that agitation can make the rural people hostile to the urban people and those who have the welfare of the province in mind, it is their business to compose matters and to make the urban classes realise that as long as their legitimate share in the administration is not threatened (meaning in proportion to their population in view of the general spread of education in rural areas), it is unwise to hope to cow down the rural classes by sheer press agitation. It should be remembered that press agitation is a game at which others can also play, and if the rural classes have recourse to press agitation and the feeling of hostility to the urbanities spreads in rural areas, the best interest of both will suffer.

MINISTERS AS SCAPEGOATS

Though the Muslims and the rural classes in general have started upon a new phase of life yet during the period of the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms bureaucracy continued to rule, and the political position has been such that the Ministry has been a ready scapegoat for all that happened.

HINDU AND SIKH PRESS'S SHARE

It was either the Muslim Minister or the Hindu Minister or the Sikh who did it, but as a matter of fact, no one could have done anything which was in any way unpalatable to the Governor. Thus a tension between the communities arose due to the hue and cry raised by individuals approaching the non-Muslim press and the latter took up

the hue and cry without sifting the matter or entering into friendly talk with the Muslims to understand the situation.

PERSONAL ELEMENT

Personal considerations predominated as in all countries. Political considerations in 1921 demanded that a Hindu who had the confidence of the politically-minded Hindu Punjab should be the first Hindu Minister and other aspirants to that office made a personal grievance of it, and pursued their personal grudge to the prejudice of provincial interests. Such is the sad story of the genesis of ill-will between the communities in the Punjab.

(B)

COMMUNAL ASPIRATIONS AND THEIR RATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

What do the various communities declare a their programmes to be and what, as a matter of fact, are their ambitions and aspirations? A clear and frank appreciation of this is essential so that an attempt may be made to suggest how the three communities can arrive at a common programme of action.

Muslim Position Enunciated: British Rule Inevitable—
(a) No Desire to have Muslim Rule
(b) Prepared to Accommodate Minority Communities on Partnership Basis

Muslim feel that they are 57 per cent. in the *Punjab*. Their voting strength under the reforms is likely to be not much below 50 per cent. They have brains, they have physique, they are virile, they have faith in their future. There are not very many large landowners in the community and the moneyed people are few. Both these shortcomings are a blessing for the true progress and advance of the community. They feel that they have been kept out of their dues too long. They are a majority only in name, not in voting strength, not in Local Self-Government, not in services. It is true that a civilized Government should not let a minority be depressed, but what about the Government which allows a majority to be depressed? And has not in the Punjab the Muslim majority been allowed to be depressed? And have not the bureaucratic efforts at helping the Muslims extending over a generation been a failure because the efforts were neither well conceived nor well made? The reforms have indicated the line of advance and the Muslims feel that they should recover their legitimate position. What is their legitimate position, pray, is the question which the sister communities and the British Government well may ask. The Muslim community's reply is: a majority should not do anything to depress the minority, should not deny the minority a position to which

their numbers entitled them simply because they are a minority and, therefore, not in power. But it does not mean that a minority should be placed in power and in authority over the majority and the positions reversed. The Muslims feel that they belong to the Punjab: they mean to stick to it, and they do not mean to submit to being depressed any longer. There is a very large section of muslims who do not like the idea of friction and trouble and would be willing to bring this horrible situation to an end, and by agreement settle with non-Muslim communities on the basis of 51:49, thus foregoing for the time being 6 per cent. of their heritage. But, remember, this is the view of the moderate Muslims — Muslims of yesterday or perhaps of to-day — but the far-seeing men are already apprehensive that the Muslims of tomorrow may be unwilling to concede the 6 per cent. They may well ask: Why? and it will not be easy to give them a satisfactory reply. After all, the 25 per cent rule made by the Government of India for Central subjects as approved by the Secretary of State, does not give the Muslim minority in India even a fraction of one per cent. in excess of their population basis. However, this is not the place for entering upon a controversy on this point. Punjab Muslims stand for the Punjab and they mean to discharge their duties and obligations towards the good of the province. They desire to be at peace with all fellow-Punjabis. They have no desire to add to their numbers by pursuing a policy of either amalgamating the N.-W.F.P. or even Sindh. They do not want to dominate the situation. They know perfectly well that as long as a single Britisher is in India, the idea of an Indian community dominating the situation in a province like the Punjab is moonshine and nonsense. They have no illusions on the subject. It is for the sister communities to decide whether they will let the Muslims have their legitimate share in the "shamilat" of the province or whether they will try to do them out of it and thus cause friction and trouble.

HINDU POSITION — URBANITE HINDUS DESIRE TO RETURN TO THEIR EXISTING CONTROL OF THE SITUATION AND STAND FOR "LET THE WEAK GO TO THE WALL"

As to Hindus they see the situation right enough. They are less than 30 per cent. in the Punjab. They have hitherto dominated the position. Till recently the Sikhs did not exist. They had been absorbed by the Hindus. It is only since recently that the Sikh separatist movement started, and though religiously the Sikhs have proclaimed their independence, politically they are tied to the apron-strings of the Hindu politicians. The problem before them is, how to continue to dominate the situation, how to have the benefit of reforms for their Hindu brethren in other provinces, and yet keep the Muslims in the Punjab out of the position which under the reforms is their due? They know they have no case and, therefore, they intentionally confuse the issues and create a good deal of noise and trouble, and instead of arguing, shout and shriek and do all sorts of things which are intended to conceal the real issues. So far as one can extricate an argument on their side, it is this: all offices in public service including clerkships and patwariships and constabulary should be recruited on the basis of a competitive examination irrespective of religion or backwardness. Similarly, for admission to educational institutions their contention seems to be that admissions should be by competitive examination. As to money-lending, etc., their position seems to be that there should be no restrictive legislation and that all should be left to free competition. They seem to hold that no protection should be given to anybody and that in the struggle for life the weak may be eliminated and the backward dropped off. It should be remembered that in the Punjab the Hindu solidarity is entirely due to their working up the Hindu feeling against the Muslim community. If they desisted from doing that, the Hindu society is bound

to be split up in small factions. The Arya Samajists lead the reform movement and have made good progress in the province through their beneficent activities in particular in matters educational. Yet there is a fairly strong orthodox section which consider Arya Samajists no better than Muslims, in fact worse. Again, the cleavage between the meat-eaters and vegetarians is by no means nominal. It is true that the number of the depressed is not very large in the Punjab, but still they are not non-existent. Again, the urban Hinds has dominated the situation till recently and the rural Hindu like the Muslim has only lately become conscious of his rights, and refuses to be ignored, or worse, bled any longer. The rural Hindu of the Ambala division is poor and miserable, like the Muslim of the "Pindi" division. For scarcity of water and unproductive land, the Hindu of Ambala and the muslim of "Pindi" divisions have been compensated by robust physique, meant to extract a badly needed pittance from lands most unwilling to yield anything. Is it likely that these classes will allow the professional classes or the moneyed class to maintain their present exalted positions by inflaming religious passions of the masses and to continue to suck their blood? The poor of the Punjab have to be fed and the classes better look out and be reasonable. Let bureaucracy also take note of the fact that consecutive Government is not eternal and that their lord and master may not in the very remote future be, a Labourite, perhaps a Socialist. Why worry about designations? Humanity's claim must be honoured and when that claim is seriously pressed by the masses, the petty political and official intrigues are swept clean off their feet. So, in the case of the Hindus, the opposition comes from Urban Hindus of professional and moneyed classes, while the have-nots of the Hindu community whose number is very large in the Ambala division and parts of Jullundur division are bound to make common cause with the have-nots of the Muslims, all being brethren in adversity.

The Sikh Position—
By Religious Revival threw out the Yoke of Hindu Religion, and Cleared their Gurdwaras of Mahants and Idols

The position of the Sikhs is most anomalous. These good people have no regard for anything except their own wish supported by their own will. Reason? Bah! What is in reason? Who cares for it? Law! We never made it? We are law unto ourselves. When you tell them, what nonsense, "you are only 12 to 13 per cent." they tell you, ' we were not even 12 per cent. when we ruled over the Punjab." What happened then, why can't it happen now? They conveniently forget that the emergence of John Bull sounded the death-knell of their sovereignty. They, however, feel satisfied that they know the trick of putting the fear of God into the mind of John Bull better than any other community. They may be very small in number, but they are the only community in India, who have won against the British Government and established the position of domination which commands the respect as well as fear of others and makes the Government give in. In case of conflict the Government give in and they are always careful indeed that there may be no conflict. This is very largely true.

CANADIAN, AKALI AND BABAR AKALI ELEMENTS, EXTREMISTS, AND EVEN TERRORISTS IN INDIAN POLITICAL LIFE

The Sikhs started an anti-Government movement in the first decade of the century and brought the virus of sedition and terrorism from Canada and ever since, they claim to hold the foremost position in that phase of Indian activity. Their contribution to terrorism are claimed to be of the highest. Bhagat Singh's name is a household word all over India. Akalis, Babar Akalis have won regard in that line and if by any chance the terrorists secure success and

establish a Government in India, that Government is bound to include a strong Sikh element. Then in nationalist anti-British activities the contribution of Sikhs has been very great. In all left-wing gatherings the Sikhs have been proclaimed and recognised as the sword-arm of the Congress. They have claimed that they brought about the downfall of the successors of Moughals. It is these sentiments which have permeated the Sikh mind with extremist politics and have rendered the position of the moderate-minded Sikhs entirely hopeless. The Punjab Government made a most useful contribution to the development to this mentality by helping the passing of the Sikh Gurudwara Act in 1925. The Sikhs enjoy adult suffrage. It has resulted in displacing all the Mahants, Sardars and Jagirdars and the proletariat of the Sikhs have come into their own. It may be that the Gurudwaras are not what they used to be; it may be that religiously and morally there is no improvement to be noticed but what is important is that the political centre of gravity has definitely shifted from the classes to the masses amongst the Sikhs. The Sikhs had a very clear and definite programme of political work. Firstly, down with the Mahants. They are outsiders, Hindus and non-Sikhs. They may have rights, but then the Sikhs invested them with those rights and it is up to the Sikhs to divest them to those rights. True, the law supports them. Well then we must change the law. The law was changed; the Mahants were divested of their rights and the proletariat were invested with them. In the process as a second item of the programme the Sardars and Jagirdars realised that the Khalsa is out of hand, they had better keep away from it. Why, even the independent rulers of the Sikh States quaked in their shoes so far as the Akali Sikhs were concerned.

Sikh Claim—Put in Simple Language:

What do they claim in the Punjab? Firstly, they are the predecessors-in-interest of the British Government and thus entitled to preferential position. Secondly, they ought

to have at least on-third share in the administration of the Punjab and as friends and patrons of Hindus it is their business to see that another one-third is guaranteed to the Hindus: they will concede the remaining third to the Muslims provided that one-third is given to those Muslims who are selected by them. It is no use trying to argue with them. This is their position and to this position they tenaciously adhere. They feel that they have defeated the British Government and they have overawed it. They further feel that in the case of Hindus they hadn't even to fight. In the case of Gurudwaras they mercilessly dealt with the Udasis and other Hindus who had any thing to do with Gurudwaras and Dharamsalas. They dug up the "marhies" (graves) of Mahants in the graveyards attached to Gurudwaras, they beat Mahmood Ghaznavi hollow in the matter of breaking idols which they said polluted their Gurudwaras, and the Hindus groaned, but dared not protest; and if they did protest, they were told to mind their own business, and they promptly submitted, and supported the Khalsa. What greater moral and political victory could have been achieved with so little bloodshed? Now having the support of the Hindus and having already impressed the British Government with their prowess in all conflicts, they want to consolidate their position and proceed to prevent the Muslims from claiming their rights. This is the position of the leading men amongst the Sikhs, — men who are in touch with currents of political thoughts of all sorts in the country, men who want the position of prominence in all advanced political institutions. How long will they retain the implicit obedience of the masses? It is true that up till now they have been able to show to their followers that their turbulence, their unreasonableness, their defiance of law and Government have done the community no harm. On the other hand, they have secured advantages at the hands of Government which in all probability would not have been forthcoming but for this militant attitude. Yet the masses are now better educated than they were 15 years ago, and the masses are not the middle-classes. The

Sikh masses want bread like the Hindu and Muslim rural masses.

Glory is all very well, but without bread it cannot keep one going for any length of time. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to expect that the leadership will in course of time pass into the hands of those who care more for the welfare of the Sikh masses than for the vain-glorious drumbeating which distinguishes the militant Sikh leaders.

POLITICS DOMINATING RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, e.g., ARYA SAMAJ, SIKHISM, AND SECTARIANISM AMONGST MUSLIMS

There are some very interesting features in the recent developments of various movements in the Punjab. Take the case of Arya Samaj. It started in the eighties with the object of reforming Hinduism, was definitely against idol worship, preached unitarianism and rationalism and thus was much closer to Islam than orthodox Hinduism, and yet it is the Arya Samaj section of Punjab Hindus which has been waging communal war in the Punjab. Why? Because it is the section which is for aggressive sectarianism, revivalism and, therefore, anti-non-Hinduism, and within this anti-range come both the Muslim and the Britisher. The religious side is in the background. It is the political side which is dominating the movement and hence the conflict with the Muslim community. On the other hand, orthodox Hindus are religiously much farther from Islam than the Arya Samajists, but up till now, they have not been aggressive in the domain of religion and, therefore, chronic conflict with the Muslims has not been their characteristic feature.

Again, take the Sikhs. Sikhism was a revolt against corrupt Hinduism of the 16th century. One has only to read the contributions of Guru Baba Nanak in the Granth Sahib

to see how near his teachings were to Islam and yet Sikhism of today is anti-Muslim in the Punjab and friendly to Hinduism. Why? Because religion is used only as a cloak to conceal political struggle for communal aggrandizement. From the point of view of religion, Hinduism, in particular orthodox Hinduism, is anathema to Sikhism and the Sikh reform movement of the 20th century was a revolt against the absorption of Sikhism by Hinduism in the Punjab and resulted in sacrilege — from the Hindu point of view — to thousands of idols, and the movement culminated, during the first few years of the Montagu Reforms in sacrilege of a most objectionable kind, from the Hindu point of view, *viz.*, the demolition of Hindu idols, demolition of Hindu "marhies," ejection of Hindu Mahants from Sikh Gurudwaras. Hindus were ready to sacrifice religious sentiments and Hindu interests for possible political alliance with the Sikhs against Muslims.

Again take the case of Muslims. In the last quarter of the 19th century Muslims used to have great religious controversies between the various sects. Sunnis, Ahli Hadis, Necharis, Mirzais, and the orthodox and Deo Bandis, etc. The conflict of Islam with Arya Samaj and Christian Mission led to these sectarian controversies coming to an end; for quite a generation they died out. Mirzais appeared as the defenders of Islam and preachers of Islam. They were respected and supported by non-Mirzais. Other sectarian controversies ceased to exist. Why? Not because of religion but because the political factor dominated and these things were left in the background. Recently there has been a revival of the controversies between the orthodox and the Mirzais. This again is in all probability due to political considerations dominating the situation. The extremists among Muslims felt that the Mirzais always siding with the Government weakened the Muslim position and, therefore, the forces of the Muslim community should be canvassed against them. Here again an extremely interesting situation developed. The

Government of the day used to favour Mirzais because they were always pro-Government and were opposed to the Khilafatists, Congress muslims and the Ahrars because they were always against Government. The tables are a bit re-adjusted if not turned. It is believed that the Ahrars are the favourites of the Government and the first wife has gone out of favour. These, however, are very temporary incidents to which no great importance need be attached.

GENESIS OF COMMUNAL TROUBLES

These interesting instances bring out certain points forcibly :-

(1) The conflict is not religious but political.

(2) The conflict is not with the object of ousting the British domination but to secure a position of importance and influence under British domination. In the case of Muslims the desire is to obtain their right on population basis. In the case of Hindus it is to retain their present position of advantage against any encroachment on it and in the case of Sikhs it is for some loot or other, in every affray that may be on. Each community wants to strengthen its position by accentuating the differences between itself and other communities, and the tendency is in every way to broaden the gulf between each community and discourage the bridging of such gulfs as already exist. The Sikhs want to solemnize the days of their martyrs in order to keep alive the animus against the Muslims. The Hindus draw upon history to discover Hindu leaders who suffered at the hands of the Muslim rulers or successfully defied them. The Muslims, not to be left behind, want to celebrate the occasion of some conquest or other of theirs. Those leaders who talk of peace and concord between communities are the ones who encourage these movements whose only effect can be to widen the gulf between the communities. What is the object of Guru-Kabagh Day?

To promote and develop anti-British feeling. What is the object of observing Shaheedganj Day? To develop and promote anti-muslim feelings amongst the Sikhs. What is the object of observing Banda Bahadur Day! To emulate his great example in slaughtering Muslims.

And the Inevitable Result of the Methods Adopted by Them:

There is no nationalism in any one of these things. And to the same category belongs Abul Kasim Day — how Muslims conquered Sindh. Muslims could have established a Shaheedganj at every great battlefield in India even the most sacred ones of the prehistoric period.

What is the object of it? Is this the way to build a united India? Is this the way to create a nation? Is is not more to purpose to definitely treat these historical events, in case they are historical, and not mythical as things of the past, misuse them and celebrate the occasions when the communities were at peace with each other instead of at war?

CAUSES OF RIOTING—NOT RELIGIOUS, BUT POLITICAL, NOT *VIS-A-VIS* THE BRITISH BUT INTER-COMMUNALLY

Again, let us for a moment examine what has been the frequent cause of rioting between Hindus and Muslims during the past 15 or 20 years. Cow sacrifice. Is there any sense whatsoever in it? Every individual and every community can claim some sort of independence in going on with its own principles and observing its own ceremonies. But to say: "I will not let my neighbour observe his principles or his ceremonies" is ludicrous. A man can say: "I shall not eat meat; I am a vegetarian." But one cannot understand how he can have the right to say, "my neighbaout shall not eat meat because I am a vegetarian." India is the last place where such mentalities should exist if India is to have any

future whatsoever. If one can say anything in support of the movement against cow-sacrifice, why not against goat-sacrifice? Why not against killing any animal, and you may go a step further and raise an objection against eating anything. This is really reducing things to absurdity. Muslims, some time ago, used to give great trouble as to Jhutka meat shops, but this again was very ridiculous. They do not like Jhutka. They need not have it. They cannot say Sikhs must not have it. Similarly pork shops. The Muslims hate pork. Well, let them not have it. But why not let the Christians have pork if they want it? Again the same about music before mosques. It is not a religious matter. No sane man ordinarily would disturb any community at prayers. Why do the Hindus do it? Not religiously, but politically. Why do Muslims create such a trouble about the ringing of Dharamshala bells? Not religiously but politically. The idea of each community is to assert the position of domination over the other. I am the master, therefore, my religion must have precedence over yours. They are both very foolish because the domination is of the British and they have only the right to quarrel with each other. If the dispute were limited to religion there would be either no dispute or if it existed, it could be composed in no time. The Muslims could have their Azan and the Hindus their bell ringing one after the other. Their prayers won't take such a long time. When the spirit of strife is up, they make it appear that their prayers take an unconscionably long time. This again is for political reasons and not for religious reasons. Therefore, it is obvious, that all these matters fall into insignificance if the communities come to an absolutely honest understanding of their respective positions and realise that such struggling does not help them very much in achieving their communal object, but renders their position as Indians weaker then ever before. Is it to the advantage of Hindus that this general position should continue to deteriorate? Do they consider that the Muslims are very anxious to become the rulers of some provinces in

India with the domination of Hindus in other provinces? Here again it is necessary to make a cursory survey to likely political development in various Indian provinces under the new Reform Scheme to see whether there is any reality in their fears and in their ambitions, or is it that this war is being waged unscrupulously to no purpose whatsoever?

SURVEY OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE EXTENT OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY IN DIFFERENT PROVINCES HINDU DOMINATION PRACTICABLE IN SOUTHERN INDIA AND ADJOINING PROVINCES

In the following provinces, provincial autonomy has a better chance of success than in the others :-

Central Provinces, Orissa, Madras, Bombay and Bihar.

It will be noticed that in the C. P., the Muslim element is 4%, in Orissa perhaps 2%, in Madras 7%, in Bombay 8 or 9% and in Bihar perhaps 12%. Separate electorates or no separate electorates, the Hindu majority is preponderating and it will be seen that in the reformed councils of these provinces provincial autonomy cannot come to grief on account of the communal troubles arising out of the existence of the Muslim element in the Legislatures, having been returned through separate electorates.

COMMUNAL DOMINATION UNLIKELY IN UPPER INDIA, EXCEPTING C. P.

The provinces where provincial autonomy has less chance than in those mentioned above are :-

The Punjab, Bengal, United Provinces, Assam, Sindh and Frontier Province.

In the Punjab, Muslims and Hindus — Sikhs — are

more or less evenly balanced. Hence no communal majority can run the Government. In Assam, the Muslims with the representatives of miscellaneous groups, e.g., Europeans, Labour and backward races may challenge the formation of a preponderating Hindu Government. In the U. P., Muslims, large land-owing interests and moneyed classes will not let the Hindu proletariat obtain the upper hand easily, and it is doubtful whether for a number of years to come the classes and the Muslims between them will not continue to retain the upper hand; but their position will not be strong enough to enable them to tyrannize over the Hindu proletariat. As regards Sindh Muslims, though large in numbers, are entirely new to political work on their own, and at present it is not known what sort of electorates the proposed franchise will give, and, in any case, the Sukkur Barrage is a heavy commitment which will keep the hands and feet of the provincial government tied for a large number of years to come. One might have thought that in the case of the N.-W.F.P. with a clear Muslim majority, a Muslim Government would be an assured fact; but what a Muslim Government! which is in the grip of the money-lender — the Government of India. The N.W.F.P. Government won't be able to call its soul its own, because of its impecunious condition. It will be autonomous Government only in name, and where there is no money the responsibility is theoretical and not practical. As regards Bengal the casting vote is in the hands of the British.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY AND ITS CHANGES

Besides these drawbacks there is the general handicap — the Governor's special powers. They may be due to the needs of the minorities, they may be due to the need of providing assurance to the people of the free exercise of their religion; they may be due to the most excellent reasons, but the fact remains that they result in placing the

Governor above the Government as a court of appeal, as one who decides whether the Government is acting rightly or wrongly. In other words, the Government owes double responsibility, one to the Legislature and the other to the Governor, and in case of conflict the Governor's authority is such that it overrides the Legislature. Therefore, the autonomous provincial government is only autonomous under the superior autonomy or autocracy of H. E. the Governor. This, however, is the theory of it. What may happen in practice no one can foretell. It depends upon the ability of the Governor and the ability of the Indian Cabinet and the support it has in the Legislature and in the province. The dice are weighed very much against the Indian Cabinets, but it would be rash to forecast their failure.

IN THE PUNJAB, APPEALS TO MUSLIMS TO ASSUME A MUSLIM GOVERNMENT. THIS IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE

In the Punjab appeals have been made to the Muslims to win the confidence of the minorities and to behave in such a manner as to make sure of the success of the reforms. And it is suggested that if they did not do so, the failure of the reforms may deprive the Muslim community of the chances of running the Government as an autonomous power. These appeals have been made by the Hindu and Sikh press, and Hindu and Sikh leaders and by H. E. the Governor himself. In order to appreciate the value of these appeals it is necessary briefly to state what the atmosphere is like, to judge what the appeals amount to and to what extent the Muslim community can respond to them, and to what extent the responsibility in the matter lies with the Hindus and Sikhs and H. E. the Governor. Since August 1932, when the so-called Communal Award was announced by His Majesty's Government, the Hindus and Sikhs have more than once declared that the constitu-

tion of the Legislature is not acceptable to them inasmuch as firstly, the electorates are separate and not joint, and secondly, the number of seats given to Muslims is much more than they are prepared to agree to. In this respect they condemned the action of His Majesty's Government which in its turn is based on the recommendations of the Government of India and the Punjab Government. It is obvious that the mode of election already prevailing in the Punjab is being retained. Therefore, no reasonable objection could be taken to it. As regards the extent of representation it is being increased, but it is obvious that only 86 Muslims will be returned by separate electorates and, therefore, there is no Muslim majority through separate electorates. As regards the special seats, there are only 3 constituencies out of 10 in which Muslim voters preponderate, and there are 4 constituencies in which Muslim voters are and will be in minority. Thus in 3 out of 7, if elections proceed on communal lines, Muslims will be returned and in the remaining 4, Hindus and Sikhs. This will raise the number of Muslims to 89. As to the remaining three joint electorate seats, they are all labour. Their constituencies have not yet been made and it is impossible to say whether any of them will have preponderance of Muslim voters, and it is very, very doubtful that in more than one of these, Muslim voters will preponderate. Thus the maximum number of Muslims in case elections are run on communal lines, would be 89 — possibly 90. As soon as it is recognised that the President will be a Muslim, out of the remaining 174 members, 88 in bare majority, and, therefore, 89 is the lowest number which Muslims could have been given, consistently with their position as the majority community in the Punjab, and 89 is the number of which they can feel sure in case elections are run on communal lines. Therefore, it is altogether wrong to say that there is any force whatsoever in the agitation against the figure of Muslim representation in the local Legislature.

WHAT SORT OF GOVERNMENT CAN BE ESTABLISHED? AN APPEAL TO HINDUS

Moreover, it is impossible for a communal Government to be established. Illness, unavoidable absence on business, accidents, all these can nullify the majority of one or two and render the communal Government a farce. On the other hand, the formation of a non-communal party run on humanitarian lines, in the interests of the masses, with due regard to the rights of classes, is clearly indicated. That, however, is made difficult if various communities make a point of exciting religious feelings, religious animosities based on historical and even mythical events. It is not necessary to go into the responsibility of a particular community for the sad state of affairs. Let this however be remembered, that the Punjab Muslims may have something to lose in importance if provincial autonomy is put off and the present regime is continued, or even if there is a set-back and the pre-Montagu Reform system is restored. This will be the position not only in the Punjab, but in all other provinces as well. As it is, none of the provinces wherein the Muslims preponderate, has a chance of establishing a Muslim autonomous Government, and in the one place where it could be established, the position of the province is such that its revenues cannot suffice for its expenditure, and can have little scope for even beneficent work for the people. If the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs succeed in making provincial autonomy a failure in the Punjab they will have the credit of depriving the Hindus of C. P., Orissa, Madras, Bombay, Bihar and even U. P. of the blessings of provincial autonomy. It is for them to decide whether to serve their own pique and rancour, and do harm to their co-religionists all over India or to behave reasonably and justly. The loss no doubt, would be shared by the Muslims, but inasmuch as if the scheme succeeds the gain of the Hindus is much greater than that of the

Muslims, in authority, in influence, in prestige and power; on its failure the loss of the Hindu community correspondingly must be much greater than that of the Muslims.

As explained in earlier parts of this discourse Muslims in the Punjab are a majority only in name. They are not a majority in voting strength, nor in public services, nor in Local Self-Government, nor in the matter of grants and honours. Then what is it that they have to do to gain the confidence of the Hindus and Sikhs? On the other hand, the Hindus and Sikhs are in possession of all things mentioned above far in excess of their population basis, and what matters are there in which they wish the Muslim community to adopt a course which will enable them to win the confidence of their Hindu and Sikh neighbours? If an appeal is to be made, it is to be made to the Hindu and Sikh communities to conduct themselves in a manner which would be reasonable, which would be just and fair. Again H.E. the Governor has made twofold appeals to the Muslim community. One is "stand united if you want to profit by the reforms." Excellent advice, but the Hindu press has criticised it violently as an encouragement to communalism. Secondly, the Governor has appealed to the Muslim community to be friendly to the Hindus and Sikhs so that the success of the provincial autonomy may be assured. He has not stated what he expects the Muslim community to do to achieve that object. Had he done so, the Muslim community would have had a chance of either acting on H.E.'s advice or expressing the reasons for their inability to act up to it. In the absence of that advice general reminder can hardly be said to be very helpful. On the other hand, one might have thought, that in view of the situation as to services, etc., H.E. the Governor would have addressed his appeal to those who are in a position to obstruct. One might have thought that in view of the appeals of the Hindu and Sikh leaders to their respective communities to take up arms against the reforms and fight them tooth and nail and render their success impossible,

he should have addressed himself to those communities and brought to their notice how they stood and what they should submit to, in order to prepare the ground for a reasonable agreement between all communities as to how the reforms should be worked.

MUSLIM LEADERS IN 1916 AGREED TO POLITICAL ADVANCE OF INDIA ON CERTAIN UNDERTAKINGS BEING GIVEN BY HINDU LEADERS

It has often been said that the Punjab problem is the key to the solution of the Indian problem. Again it has been said that the Punjab is the Ulster of India. Once again, it is said that but for the Punjab the Indian problem would have been amicably settled long ago. Once again, without solving the Punjab problem, the Indian problem cannot be solved. And again, ignore Punjab and proceed to solve the Indian problem. None of these is the whole truth. Nor can it be said that any of these is entirely untrue. These are what are called half-truths and, therefore, most dangerous. N.W.F. Province's geographical situation and the expensiveness of the administration as compared with the revenues to be derived locally, renders autonomous Government there one only in name. Sindh is yet to be. There again, on account of the Sukkur Barrage its autonomy in more or less hypothecated, to the Government of India for a long time to come. That leaves the Punjab with a possible Muslim majority in the Legislature, but a minority in all other respects. Under any form of representative responsible Government the Muslims were bound to find, ordinarily, that the authority would pass from the British to the Hindu hands, and for a very long time the Muslim policy was that this change shall not be agreed to, as it was definitely detrimental to Muslim interests. After prolonged discussions the Hindu leaders were able to persuade the Muslim leaders that they are prepared to assure them of their religious and cultural, social and educational individ-

uality and integrity being honoured and maintained, that as they wanted separate electorates they were being conceded, and as they take to politics larger representation will be gladly provided. That was 20 years ago. The agreement had barely been working for two or three years when the Hindu leaders began to murmur dissatisfaction with the arrangements they themselves had arrived at and now most of them have completely gone against those assurances and decried the very arrangement of separate electorates which they had unanimously agreed upon without the slightest difficulty. In the change from the present constitution of Indian Legislature to the constitution proposed under the new reforms, the position of the Muslim community has not improved but has weakened inasmuch as with the official bloc, while they could have defeated a purely Hindu majority in several legislatures, it will not be possible for them to do so after the new reforms. Still the Muslim leaders did not feel inclined to obstruct the change from diarchy to provincial autonomy, or from irresponsible Central Government to partially responsible Federal Government. The change for improved Muslim representation *qua* the Hindu representation is only in two provinces: the Punjab and Bengal. If India's Hindu leaders prefer diarchy to the proposed constitution, Muslim leaders are not prepared to force them to accept the new reforms and are prepared, with their Hindu brethren, to remain under the present diarchaical Government and with the present constitution of Indian Legislatures.

PRESENT POSITION AND POLITICAL PROGRAMME

On the other hand, inspite of their objections to the amount of representation provided for Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal, if the Hindu leaders of India prefer the new constitution to the present one, Muslims are prepared to agree with them and have the new constitution. Let it,

however, be clearly understood that those who wish to work the new constitution should work it honestly, with the sole object of making the constitution yield the best possible results, i.e., the uplift of the Indian masses, pushing forward the cause of the backward people and the backward areas, provision of better facilities for the masses in all departments of Governmental activities. In other words a definitely liberal and socialistic programme of work is indicated by the present day need of India. Irrespective of caste, class or creed those who subscribe to this programme should come together, hold together and constitute themselves into a party and do the best they can with the constitution the British public, through the British Parliament, has been graciously pleased to give to India. Whether that constitution is good, or whether it could have been better or could have been worse are not questions with which we are here concerned. In other words in the Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs have every right to protest against what they called their under-representation, but those who are coming forward to work under the new constitution should lay aside their dissatisfaction with it for the time being and be ready to work the new constitution for all it is worth. This means that they should be prepared for the time being to forego under the new regime, those things which they claim for themselves in the next constitution, but at the same time claim and get every ounce of their rights under the new constitution. And the Muslims should be prepared to be satisfied with recovering their rights in due course of time and not to be too impatient to hasten the pace of recovery; and thus a reasonable, honest, working compromise is not outside the pale of practical politics. It may not satisfy the extremists on either side but this is what practical men of business on both sides would recognise as the only way to serve the best interests of the province.

PUNJAB PROGRAMME OUT-LINED

What does the *Punjab* want? First and foremost its self-respect. The authorities had deprived the Punjab of it in 1919. Under the reformed administration Punjab recovered it. It has been felt for some time that the standard of self-respect to-day does not stand as high as it did some time ago. If this is so, it is much to be regretted and the recovery of that standard is essential in as much as no country can rise without self-respect.

Secondly, every effort should be made to assure equality of opportunity to all sections of the people. It is an extremely difficult duty for an administration to discharge but that is no reason for neglecting it. Every step advanced in that direction is a gain to the country. The favourtism of the pre-reform period had called for action, and under the reformed constitution the lift given to the lower-middle class, to the people without influence, on account of their personal fitness was such as to inspire confidence in the administration. The poor and the friendless felt that they had a chance, that the people of position and influence may have a better chance, but they too had a fair chance and the authorities were anxious to do them justice if possible. For some time now it has been felt that another class of the favoured has come into being and that they, in their turn, are more or less monopolising the opportunities and depriving the poor and the friendless of anything like the equality of opportunity. This must be remedied. Favouritism is an evil: every administration is liable to fall a prey to it, but the integrity of an administration depends upon the extent to which it can conduct its affairs without being largely favourtism-ridden.

Thirdly, before the reforms the masses were neglected, the backward people were allowed to remain backward. After the reforms there was a great deal of work done to help the backward and the poor. The economic depression intervened and the programme of amelioration

of the condition of the poor and the backward was dropped. Under the reforms it is the clear duty of the new Government to overhaul its finances, and its administration to make sure that under the altered financial and economic conditions it is not the development of the beneficent activities which has to be sacrificed but that the cost of administration should be brought down.

Fourthly, there is, on account of changed financial and economic conditions in the Punjab, and for the matter of that in India and the world, a need for re-adjustment of the economic fabric of the province. It is a work of the most gigantic nature needing the best brains of the province. So far as the Punjab is concerned bankruptcy stares in the face. Its wealth lay in its agricultural produce of which the price has gone down tremendously. What is needed is a determined effort to evolve a scheme to meet the present day requirements in the best interests of the province, crop planning, reforming the methods of marketing, developing cottage industries and encouraging suitable industries in the rural areas to utilise the raw material produced in the tract. There are many other pressing needs. These call for whole-hearted and united efforts by those who are prepared to undertake the work of reconstruction and uplift; and work of this gigantic nature cannot be undertaken unless useless and meaningless bickerings between communities and classes are put away, at all events for the time being, and the work staring the province in the face taken up in all earnestness.

Section 7

ORIENTAL AND INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY AND RECORDS

FAZL-I-HUSAIN COLLECTION

MSS EUR E 352

Papers of Husain Bakhsh

1. Copies of official documents relating to the career of Husain Bakhsh; and conferring title of Khan Sahib; etc. *c* 1870-1904.

Papers of Sir Fazl-i-Husain

Journals

2. England and Sialkot 1898-1902
3. Loose leaves 1 Apr 1930-27 Dec 1930
4. Loose leaves 1931
5. Diary Jan-May 1932, Jul 1935-Mar 1936
6. Typed extracts from diaries 26 Apr-26 Dec 1930
   1 Jan-26 Feb 1932

Personal Papers

7. Letters from his father Husain Bakhsh 1898-1908
8. Documents, awards, certificates, etc. presented to Sir Fazl-i-Husain 1901-34
9. Correspondence with his son Azim Husain 1932-36

Correspondence Files

10. Correspondence chiefly with British administrators Correspondents are:- 1924-36
    - C.F. Andrews
    - Sir Philip Chetwode, Commander-in-Chief, India
    - Sir Henry Craik
    - Sir Herbert Emerson, Governor of the Punjab
    - Sir Harry Haig, Member, Executive Council
    - Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces
    - Sir Evelyn Howell, Foreign Secretary, Government of the India
    - Lord Irwin, Viceroy 1926 - 31
    - Lord Lothian, Parliamentary Under Secretary

Frank Noyce, Member, Executive Council
Lord Willingdon, Viceroy 1931 - 35

11. Correspondence with Sir Chhota Ram (d, 1945), Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly; Minister of Revenue, Punjab. 1930-36
12. Correspondence with Sir Firoz Khan Noon (1893 1970), Minister for Education, Medical and Public Health, Punjab, 1930-36
13. Correspondence with Sir Shafaat Ahamd Khan (1893 1948), Professor of History, Allahabad; Round Table Conference 1930-32. 1930-36
14. Correspondence with Shafee Daudi, Secretary, All-India Muslim Conference 1930-33
15. Correspondence with Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din (d. 1949), President, Legislative Council, Punjab; Speaker, Punjab Legislative Assembly. 1930-36
16. Correspondence with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan (1892 1942), Revenue Member, Punjab Government 1930-35, 1936-37; Acting Governor 1932 and 1934. *c* 1930-36
17. Correspondence with various persons:- 1930-36

Abdullah Khan
Sir Akbar Hydari
Ghuznavi
Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Mohammad Iqbal
Amir Din
Nazim-ud-Din
Ahamd Said
Shaukat Ali
Atta Ullah
Fazal J Rahimtoola
B S Gilani
Ashiq Husain
Sayed Mohammed Padshah
Mushtaq Ahamd Gurmani
Syed Rajan Bakhsh

18. Correspondence with various persons:- 1930-36

Sir Jogendra Singh
Sarojini Naidu
Bhagatji
Gulshan Rai
G S Bajpai
A Ramaswami Mudaliar
Ram Rakha Mal
R M Deshamukh
Ranga
Srivastava
Mitra
Parmanand
Srinivasa Shastri
Teja Singh
S Mudaliar

19. Correspondence with the Aga Khan 1931-36

20. Correspondence with various persons:- 1931-36

Ziauddin
Mohammad Shafi
Ghazanfar Ali
Abdul Qadir
Malik Barkat Ali
Dr Alama Latifi
M A Khuro
Haji Abdullah Haroon
Mushir Husain Kidwai
Mirza M Said
Muzaffar Khan
Raja of Salempur
Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana

21. Correspondence with Ahmad Yar Daultana 1933-36

22. Correspondence with Syed Habib, Editor, The Daily Siyasat. 1933-36

23. Correspondence with Zafrulla Khan 1930-36

24. Notes and correspondence with list of contents. *c* 1929-35

25. Speeches delivered by Sir Fazl-i-Husain *c* 1928-33
26. Pamphlets on Punjab Politics.
27. Miscellaneous and biographical notes and correspondence

Section 8

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography

1. "Mian Fazl-i-Husain; A Review of his life and work" Syed Nur Ahmad, Lahore 1936.
2. The Truth About Mian Fazl-i-Husain Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, The Modern Review, June 1937, pps 640-644
3. Sir Fazl-i-Husain; by Sir George Anderson, Great Men of India; The Home Library Club Edited by L.F. Rushbrook Williams, pps 358-367, 1946
4. Fazl-i-Husain; A Political Biography; Azim Husain; Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1946
5. Martial Law see Martial law Tak (Urdu) Syed Nur Ahmad Lahore, 1967
6. Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, 1858-1951, S.M. Ikram, Lahore 1969, pages 213-276.
7. Mian Fazl-i-Husain, pps. 425-481. A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab 1799-1947. Ikram Ali Malik, Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, 1970.
8. Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain. Edited by Dr Waheed Ahmad. Preface by Dr. Percival Speer. Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore pages 651, June 1976.
9. Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Husain. Edited by Dr. Waheed Ahmad. Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore, pages 347, December 1977.
10. The Punjab Politics and the Ascendency of the Unionist Party (1924-36). Iftikhar Haider Malik, Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences, vol: VI No. 2 (July-December 1980)

11. The Working of the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms and Communal Antagonism in the Punjab. Qalb-i-Abid, Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Research Society, January 1989, Part I, pages 17-42.
12. The Muslim Demand for Separate Electorates and the Punjab (1927-30) pages 327-342, Qalb-i-Abid, Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Research Society, October 1989, Part IV.
13. Five Eminent Indians; Pages 73-88 Suraj Bhan; Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons; Lahore 1938.
14. Tehdise Naimat; Pages 231-38; 256-60; 305-14; 344-65; Mohammad Zafrullah Khan; Mohammad Ahmad Academy; Lahore; 1971.
15. Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control 1920-32. Pages 65-68; 220-54. David Page Oxford University Press, 1987.

Section 9

FOOT NOTES

FOOT NOTES

1. A tribe of the Punjab generlly regarded as low caste.
2. Field Marshal Sir Robert Groves Sandeman (1835-1912); Deputy Commissioner Dera Ghazi Khan, 1867; Commander-in-Chief India, 1893-8; regarded as the founder of the province of Baluchistan.
3. Mian Hussain Baksh, his father, and his only real sister, Sardar Begum; Fazl-i-Husain's mother having died in his infancy.
4. Cousin, later brother-in-law of Fazl-i-Hussain; joined the Indian Police Service and retired as Superintendent of Police.
5. B.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law; practised law at Dera Ismail Khan, later Deputy Speaker, Frontier Province.
6. Fazl-i-Husain belonged to a Bhatti Rajput family.
7. B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-law; failed in the ICS exam; practised law at Calcutta and later became Principal, Law College, Patna.
8. Fazl-i-Husain's cousin; he did not succeed in the ICS examination and failed to obtain his Degree at Cambridge, but was called to the Bar.
9. Head Master of a County School. Mr. & Mrs. Hyams kept a boarding house for students from India.
10. Later Maulana Mohammad Ali (1867-1931) of the Khilafat Movement Fame.
11. A Coaching establishment for the ICS Competitive Examination.
12. 1875-1959; educated at Presidency College, Calcutta; entered ICS 1899; Deputy Commissioner 1915; Commissioner 1926; Member Legislative Assembly 1923-29; Commissiner Nagpur 1929-33; retired 1934.
13. Professor of Philosophy at Government College, Lahore 1895-97; Fazl-i-Husain's teacher; resigned in 1897 and was succeeded by Mr. T. W. Arnold.
14. Fazl-i-Hussain's uncle in the Punjab Judiicial Service and father of Mohammad Said.
15. Ghulam Bhik Naraug, Vakil and poet of Ambala; later member of the Indian Central Assembly; founder of Seerat Committee.
16. A woolen shawl.
17. Son of Pir Qamar uddin of Gujrat, Barister-at-law.
18. Mr. and Mrs. Hyam's neighbour.
19. Earl of Rosebery (1947-1929), British prime Minister 1894-8.
20. 1848-1930, British Prime Minister 1902-5
21. 1836-1908, British Prime Minister 1905-8
22. Sheikh Miran Baksh, Munshi of Mr. Rattigan, Barrister-at-Law, later Judge of the Punjab Chief Court.
23. Barrister-at-Law, later Judge of the High Court.
24. Maternal Uncle.

25. Tehsildar, District Sialkot.
26. A member of the family.
27. 1874-1950; educated F.C. College, Lahore; Lincoln's Inn Barrister-at-Law; Editor "Observer" and "Makhzan" 1895-1904; Advocate and Public Prosecutor, Lyallpur 1907-20; Additional Judge, High Court, Lahore 1923; Deputy President and later elected President Punjab Legislative Council 1924-25; Knighted 1927; Member Public Service Commission 1929; Adviser Council of Secretary of State for India, London 1934-39.
28. Amir of Afghanistan.
29. Divisional Judge.
30. Vakil from Daska, father of Chaudhry (later Sir) Mohammad Zafrullah Khan who in the early 1920's assisted Fazl-i-Husain in the establishment of the Punjab Unionist Party, and succeeded him as a member of the Viceroy's Council in 1935, and later became Foreign Minister of Pakistan and President of the International Court of Justice.
31. Aga Mohammad Baqir, Honorary Magistrate (d 1924), leading rais of Sialkot. His younger brother Aga Mohammad Safdar practised as Vakil from 1915 to 1920, when he joined Non-Cooperation Movement of Mahatma Gandhi, and suffered imprisonment.
32. Urdu for "Court hearing"
33. Superintendent of the Vernacular office of the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot.
34. Stepmother.
35. Emmanuel College Cambridge.
36. Wages for providing clarical assistence.
37. A son named Saleem, who died in infancy.